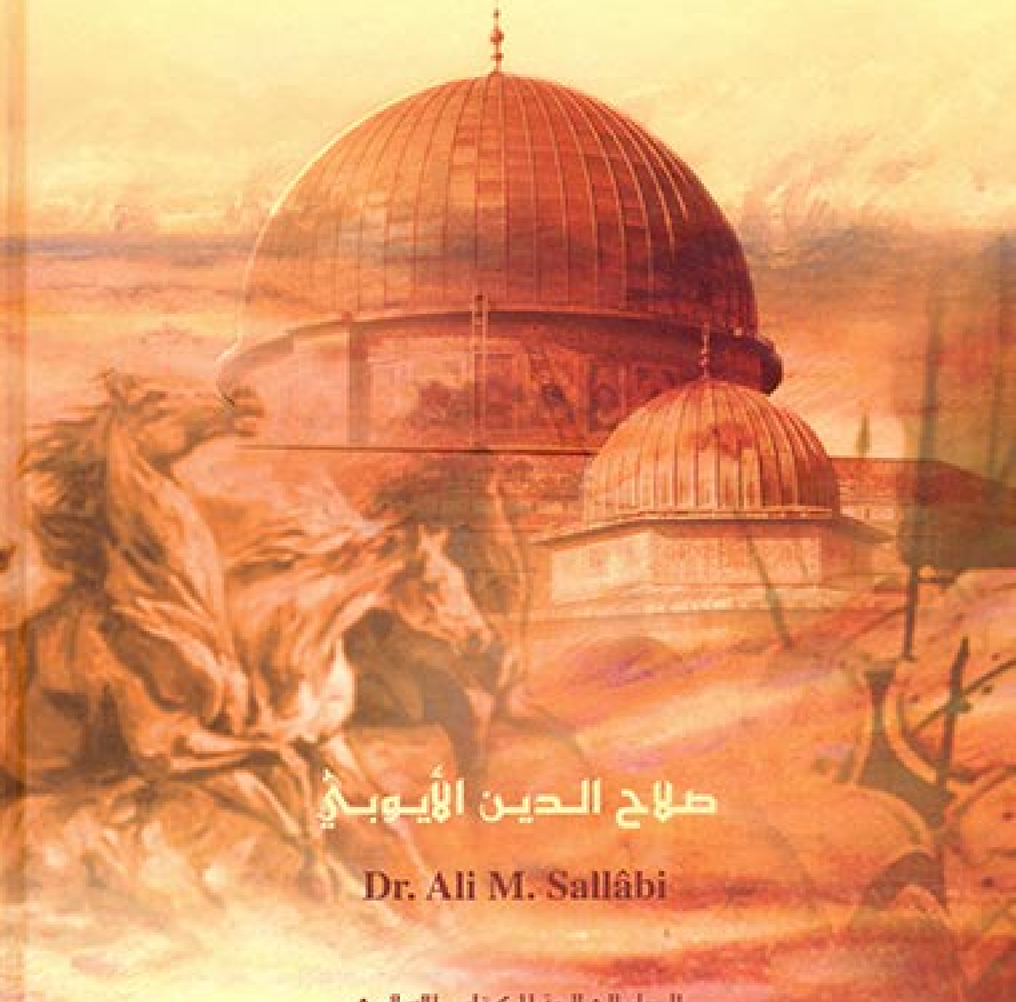
الفاروق

Salâh ad-Deen al-Ayubi

VOLUME TWO

The Establishment of the Ayubid State



صلاح الدين الأيوبي

Dr. Ali M. Sallâbi

الدار العالمية للكتاب الإسلامي
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC PUBLISHING HOUSE

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

IN THE NAME OF

ALLAH

THE ALL-COMPASSIONATE, ALL-MERCIFUL

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi

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Contents of Volume 2

Arabic honorific symbols used in this book

(﷾) : *Subḥânahu wa Ta'âla* — "The Exalted"

(ﷺ) : *Ṣalla-Allâhu 'Alayhi wa Sallam* — "Blessings and peace be upon him"

(﵇) : *'Alayhis-Salâm* — "May peace be upon him"

(﵁) : *Raḍiya-Allâhu 'Anhu* — "May Allah be pleased with him"

(﵂) : *Raḍiya-Allâhu 'Anha* — "May Allah be pleased with her"

Pronunciation and Transliteration Chart

Arabic script	Pronunciation	Transliterated as:
أ	short 'a', as in *cat*	a
آ – ى	longer 'a', as in *cab* (not as in *cake*)	â
ب	/b/ as in *bell*, *rubber* and *tab*	b
ت	/t/ as in *tap, mustard* and *sit*	t
ة	takes the sound of the preceding diactrical mark sometimes ending in h (when in pausal form): ah, ih, or ooh; or atu(n), ati(n) or ata(n) when in uninterrupted speech	h or t (when followed by another Arabic word)
ث	/th/ as in *thing*, *maths* and *wealth*	th
ج	/j/ as in *jam*, *ajar* and *age*	j
ح	a 'harsher' sound than the English initial /h/, and may occur medially and in word-final position as well	ḥ
خ	as in *Bach* (in German); may occur initially and medially as well	kh
د	/d/ as in *do*, *muddy* and *red*	d
ذ	as in *this*, *father*, and *with*	dh
ر	/r/ as in *raw*, *art* and *war*; may also be a rolled r, as with Spanish words	r

Arabic script	Pronunciation	Transliterated as:
ز	/z/ as in *zoo*, *easy* and *gaze*	z
س	/s/ as in *so*, *messy* and *grass*	s
ش	as in *ship*, *ashes* and *rush*	sh
ص	no close equivalent in English, but may be approximated by pronouncing it as /sw/ or /s/ farther back in the mouth	ṣ
ض	no close equivalent in English, but may be approximated by pronouncing /d/ farther back in the mouth	ḍ
ط	no close equivalent in English, but may be approximated by pronouncing /t/ farther back in the mouth	ṭ
ظ	no close equivalent in English, but may be approximated by pronouncing 'the' farther back in the mouth	<u>dh</u>
ع	no close equivalent in English: a guttural sound in the back of the throat	ʿ
غ	no close equivalent in English, but may be closely approximated by pronouncing it like the French /r/ in 'rouge'	gh
ف	/f/ as in *fill*, *effort* and *muff*	f

Arabic script	Pronunciation	Transliterated as:
ق	no close equivalent in English, but may be approximated by pronouncing /k/ farther back in the mouth	q
ك	/k/ as in *king*, *buckle* and *tack*	k
ل	/l/ as in *lap*, *halo*; in the word *Allah*, it becomes velarized as in *ball*	l
م	/m/ as in *men*, *simple* and *ram*	m
ن	/n/ as in *net*, *ant* and *can*	n
ـه - ه - هـ	/h/ as in hat; unlike /h/ in English, in Arabic /h/ is pronounced in medial and word-final positions as well	h
و	as in *wet* and *away*	w
و (as a vowel)	long u, as in *boot* and *too*	oo
ي	as in *yet* and *yard*	y
ي (as a vowel)	long e, as in *eat*, *beef* and *see*	ee
ء	glottal stop: may be closely approximated by pronouncing it like ‘t’ in the Cockney English pronunciation of *butter*: *bu’er*, or the stop sound in *uh — oh!*	’ (Omitted in initial position)

Diphthongs:

Arabic script	Pronunciation	Transliterated as:
أَوْ ، وْ	Long o, as in *owe*, *boat* and *go*	au, aw, ow
أي ، يْ	Long 'a', as in *able*, *rain* and *say*	ay, ai, ei

Diacritical marks (*tashkeel*):

Name of mark	Pronunciation	Transliterated as:
ـَ fatḥah	very short 'a' or schwa (unstressed vowel)	a
ـِ kasrah	shorter version of ee or schwa (unstressed vowel)	i
ـُ Dammah	shorter version of oo	u
ـّ shaddah	a doubled consonant is stressed in the word, and the length of the sound is also doubled	Double letter
ـْ sukoon	no vowel sound between consonants or at the end of a word	Absence of vowel

About the word *Lord*

The word *lord* in English has several related meanings. The original meaning is 'master' or 'ruler', and in this sense it is often used to refer to human beings: 'the lord of the mansion' or 'Lord So-and-So' (in the United Kingdom, for example). The word *Lord* with a capital L is used in the lexicon of Islam to refer to the One and Only God-Allah. In Islam, there is no ambiguity about the meaning of this word. While it is true that one may occasionally use the word *lord* (whether capitalized or not) to refer to a human being, in Islamic discourse the reference of this term is always clear from the context. Whereas for Christians, Hindus and other polytheists, the word *Lord* with a capital L may refer to Allah, to Jesus or to some imagined deity, for Muslims, there can be no plurality of meaning. Allah alone is the Lord, and the Lord is Allah — not Jesus, not Rama, not any other being.

The Editor

PART TWO

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE AYUBID STATE

CHAPTER I
The Family of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and His Upbringing

The lineage of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen belonged to a prominent Kurdish family of noble origin. This family belonged to a Kurdish tribe that was regarded as one of the noblest in lineage, a clan that was known as ar-Rawâdiyah.[1] They were originally from the city of Daween, which was located at the furthest border of Azerbaijan, near the city of Tiflees (Tbilisi) in Armenia. The Ayubids were descended from Ayub ibn Shâdi, and Ibn al-Atheer regarded them as the noblest of the Kurds because none of them was ever enslaved.[2] When Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's father Najm ad-Deen Ayub and his paternal uncle Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh, came from Iraq, they were not shepherds, rather they had a great deal of experience in political and administrative affairs.[3] But some Ayubids tried to deny their Kurdish origins and claim Arab blood in general, claiming to be descended from Banu Umayah in particular.[4] Whatever the origin of the Ayubids, they emerged in the Islamic east in the sixth century AH/twelfth century CE, when their great-grandfather Shâdi was appointed to some administrative position in the citadel of Tikrit, which was allocated to Bahrooz al-Khâdim, one of the emirs of the Seljuk sultan Muhammad ibn Malikshah.[5] Tikrit was located on the right bank of the Tigris, north of Samurra', and controlled the main transportation routes between Iraq and Syria; most of its inhabitants were Kurds. Shâdi was

transferred there with his two sons, Najm ad-Deen Ayub and Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh. He gradually climbed the administrative ladder until he was given a permanent post in charge of the garrison. When he died, he was succeeded by his son Najm ad-Deen Ayub.[6] It is very strange that some historians go out of their way in their research to attribute Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen to a chain of forefathers that ends with Mudar, who was descended from 'Adnân; it is as if, by means of this research which is contrary to academic standards, not to mention pure facts, they want to connect every non-Arab genius to an Arabic lineage, as if all virtues and noble characteristics belong exclusively to the Arabs and as if the non-Arab Muslims — according to their short-sighted way of thinking — cannot build glory, establish civilizations or leave great legacies,[7] or support Islam with the sword and by means of their words. If we look into history and research the great men who built Islamic civilization, we will discover that the many nations who entered Islam contributed to Islamic civilization. Muhammad al-Fâtih, Noor ad-Deen and 'Imâd ad-Deen were Turks; Nizâm al-Mulk was Persian; the Ayubid family were Kurds; Yoosuf ibn Tashfeen was a Berber. Allah honoured the Arabs with the Islamic message, and He also honours those who are sincere towards His religion. We are opposed to blind tribalism and hateful racism. The Islamic principle is:

﴾The believers but brothers [in Islamic religion].﴿ *(Qur'an 49: 10)*

And the Islamic method is fixed and cannot change[8]:

﴾Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you.﴿ *(Qur'an 49: 13)*

Najm ad-Deen served the Seljuk Sultan Muhammad ibn Malikshah, and he "saw his honesty, maturity, wisdom and chivalry, so he appointed him as governor of the citadel of Tikrit, and he did the job well, controlling its affairs in the best manner. He expelled

evildoers and bandits from the land, until the people were able to do business in safety and security."[9] Similarly, Abu Shâmah stated that Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh was one of the emirs who were favoured by the Seljuks, who allocated to him a large amount of land in and around Tikrit which brought him a yearly income of around nine hundred dinars[10], which was a large amount by the standards of that era.[11]

The birth of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi was born in 532 AH/1137 CE in the citadel of Tikrit, an ancient city that is nearer to Baghdad than Mosul. A strong citadel was built in the highest part of the city, overlooking the Tigris. It was built in ancient times by the Persian kings, on a rocky outcrop, and used as a weapons depot and a lookout to keep watch for the enemy. It was conquered by the Muslims in 16 AH, at the time of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb (may Allah be pleased with him).[12] In an amazing twist of fate, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was born on the day when Mujâhid ad-Deen Bahrooz, the governor of Baghdad, ordered Najm ad-Deen Ayub and his brother Shirkuh to leave Tikrit, because Shirkuh, the paternal uncle of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, had killed one of the commanders of the citadel. That happened because of a woman whom the commander had molested; Shirkuh avenged her honour when she called on him to help her, and he killed him.

But Bahrooz was very confused and did not know what to do. Should he keep them with him or order them to leave? If he let them stay, he was afraid that they would be subject to the revenge of the commanders and thus harmed. So he had no alternative but to order them to leave. He summoned them and expressed his fears for them, and he asked them to leave Tikrit that night. The two men set out for Mosul, taking their families with them. It was in the howdah of Najm

ad-Deen that his son Yoosuf, known as Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, was born. The author of *Wafiyât al-A'yân* described what took place thereafter:

> Ayub felt pessimistic about his newborn son Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, and he thought of killing his son when the child was crying as they left the city, but one of his followers warned him against this action, saying, "O master, I see that you are very pessimistic about this child. What wrong has he done? What has he done to deserve that from you when he can neither bring benefit nor cause harm, and he cannot do anything? What happened to you is by the will and decree of Allah. Moreover, you do not know, perhaps this child will become a king with a great reputation and a high and prominent position. Allah may decree that he should be a man who will play a great role. So let him be, for he is an infant and has done no wrong, and he does not know you are going through grief and stress."[13] Ayub was moved by these words and quickly came back to his senses and followed the path of true Islam.[14]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's upbringing

The brothers Najm ad-Deen Ayub and Shirkuh migrated from Baghdad to Mosul, where they stayed with 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi, who welcomed them warmly and gave them gifts. This welcome and honour was a reward for their sincere attitude as they had saved him from being killed or captured. That had happened when 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi, the ruler of Mosul, had fought the Seljuks at Tikrit when Bahrooz was governor of Baghdad, appointed by the Seljuks. We have already seen that Najm ad-Deen Ayub and Shirkuh were in charge of Tikrit and its citadel, having been appointed by Bahrooz. The outcome of 'Imâd ad-Deen's battle was victory for the Seljuks, and his army had fled from the Seljuk army. During his retreat and

withdrawal to Mosul, he passed by Tikrit and his life and that of his army were in the hands of Najm ad-Deen Ayub, the governor of Tikrit at that time; if he wanted he could let them live and if he wanted he could kill them. Najm ad-Deen preferred kind treatment over harsh treatment, so he and his brother Shirkuh helped 'Imâd ad-Deen and made it easy for him to reach Mosul safe and sound. This kind treatment and noble attitude had a great impact and led to good results in building Ayub's kingdom and establishing the glory of Islam at the hand of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.[15]

When the two men reached Mosul, they were warmly welcomed by 'Imâd ad-Deen, as we have seen, and he rewarded them for the good treatment of him in Tikrit. He allocated some land to them so that they could live with him in pride and honour.[16] Under the care of 'Imâd ad-Deen the Ayubid family flourished. Najm ad-Deen and his brother Shirkuh became some of the best commanders. 'Imâd ad-Deen was killed after that and Noor ad-Deen came to power with the help of the Ayubids. He managed to add Damascus to his kingdom, and it was in Damascus that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was raised, acquired an Islamic education and learned the arts of horsemanship, hunting, archery and other necessary skills.[17] When Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood Zangi conquered Baalbek in 534 AH, he appointed Najm ad-Deen Ayub as its governor, but the ruler of Damascus, Mujeer ad-Deen, besieged Najm ad-Deen Ayub in Baalbek, and Najm ad-Deen wrote to Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood and Sayf ad-Deen Ghazi, asking them for help, but they were too busy. After a lengthy siege, a peace deal was worked out between the two sides with immediate effect, and he moved to Damascus and became one of its most prominent emirs.[18]

Thus Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen spent his early childhood in Baalbek in 534 AH/1140 CE, and he saw and heard, from time to time, the Crusader attacks on Muslim lands. When the Crusaders attacked the

Bekaa valley, near Baalbek, in 546 AH, Najm ad-Deen and Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh stood up to them and defeated them, capturing some of them.[19] In the same year, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen joined the service of his paternal uncle Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh.[20] Asad ad-Deen accompanied Noor ad-Deen who took charge of the Zangids after his father was killed. It seems that Noor ad-Deen realized the military and administrative potential of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. Abu Shâmah states that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen came before Noor ad-Deen and he kissed him and allocated some good land to him[21], showed his confidence in him, looked after him, drew him close and gave him preferential treatment, and he continued to show potential and calibre that justified his being promoted higher and higher.[22]

Noor ad-Deen would send him to his paternal uncle (Shirkuh) to consult with him about some matters that had to do with the state, levies and agricultural issues. Noor ad-Deen always showed an interest in consulting his senior commanders.[23] In modern terms, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would be described as the private secretary of Noor ad-Deen.[24]

With regard to how Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was promoted to various posts, Ibn al-Furat explains that to us:

> Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen remained under his father's care until he grew up, and when al-Malik al-'Âdil Noor ad-Deen took control of Damascus, the emir Najm ad-Deen asked his son Yoosuf to serve him, and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's potentials became clear; among other things, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen learned the path of good, enjoining what is right, and striving in jihad, until he joined his uncle Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh on his march to Egypt. Asad ad-Deen had full authority in Egypt, and his nephew Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was running affairs directly with the utmost care, sound wisdom and proper handling.[25]

During his father's governorship in Baalbek, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had studied Islamic knowledge and the arts of war, in addition to his interest in the game of *jokan*, a sport of eastern origin that was played on horseback, which he had inherited from his father, in addition to his interest in religious knowledge.[26] We may conclude from this and from what is mentioned above that during the period in which Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen lived in Syria, and before he took up any significant military post, he was watching political and military developments in the Muslim lands, the most important of which was the conflict with the Crusaders and how Noor ad-Deen was relying on his father and paternal uncle Shirkuh. He must have been influenced by these events even though he did not take part in them, and he must also have developed a sense that he should prepare for the future, especially for high level posts in the state.[27] It may be said that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen grew up and was raised in the lap of his family, and learned from his father Najm ad-Deen his brilliance in politics and from his uncle Shirkuh his courage in war. So he grew up imbued with political acumen and the spirit of war. He also acquired the knowledge of his era; he memorized the Qur'an, studied fiqh and the Hadith and studied under the leading scholars of Syria and Mesopotamia, including Shaykh Quṭub ad-Deen an-Neesaboori.[28] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was influenced by the sultan Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood who gave him a brilliant example of sincere devotion, and a serious sense of religious responsibility; he learned from him sincerity and self-sacrifice, and how to converse with his Lord in private prayer in his own place of worship, taking from that the spiritual strength to engage in jihad. He inherited from him the leadership of the Islamic venture and learned from him how to stem the hereticalShiite tide and resist the Crusader invasion. I have discussed this in detail in my book about the Zangid state and the biography of the martyr Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood.

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen grew up in a glorious atmosphere, trained in horsemanship and the arts of war and jihad, and practised political and decision-making skills. During the period that he spent in Damascus after Noor ad-Deen ibn 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi took control of it, the brilliance of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's character emerged. He was held in high esteem and respected, and his status was like that of the son of the governor of Damascus himself. He appeared before society as a religious, polite and calm young man, filled with concern for Islam, a characteristic that was instilled in his heart by Noor ad-Deen, who treated him in a very special way. Among the posts that were given to him in Damascus at the time of Noor ad-Deen was the position of head of police. He did the job in the best manner, and was able to purify Damascus of the mischief of thieves and evildoers. Security and stability were restored throughout the city; the people felt that their lives and property were safe, and they enjoyed the blessing of a quiet and decent life. Ḥassân ibn Numayr, who is known as 'Arqalah ad-Dimashqi, expressed his joy at Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen being in charge of the police in his city, as he said:

Wait, O thieves of Damascus,
for I shall tell you something most sincerely.
There has come to you someone
who has the name of the Prophet Yoosuf,
who was known for eloquence and beauty.
That one cut the hands of women, but this one
cuts off the hands of men![29]

The period that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen spent in Egypt is regarded as one of the greatest periods in which his immense courage and brilliant military skills came to the fore. He stayed with his uncle Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh throughout his three campaigns against Egypt, and was one of the most brilliant men with him. He demonstrated great genius and unique skill in the arts of war and

fighting. With his wisdom, intelligence and ability to make good decisions, he managed to help his uncle to annex Egypt into Noor ad-Deen's state, after saving the great Egyptian people from the clutches of the heretical Fatimid state. From the above we may conclude that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was raised, during his early childhood and the second and third decades of his life, with noble characteristics and praiseworthy attitudes, and by mixing with emirs and keeping company with commanders he learned proper etiquette and the skills of war, concern for Islam, and moral and physical courage, and this is what led to him deserving to be one of those unique characters who shook the world and contributed to shaping an important era of the great history of Islam.[30]

When did the Ayubid state begin?

Historians differ as to when the Ayubid state began. Some say that it began when Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi was appointed as the vizier of the Fatimid caliph al-'Âdid li Deen-Illah in 564 AH/1169 CE.[31] Others say that it was when the khutbahs in Egypt were once again given in the name of the Abbasid caliph, which was followed by the death of al-'Âdid li Deen-Illaah and the end of the Fatimid caliphate in 567 AH/1171 CE. It is true that the authority of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen began when he was appointed as vizier, and he reinforced his position by taking steps to abolish the Fatimid state, but from a legal point of view he was still subject to the authority of Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood who died soon after that, in 569 AH/1174 CE. Hence in our view the year of Noor ad-Deen's death marks the beginning of the Ayubid state, which was recognized by the Abbasid caliph al-Mustadi' Billah in 570 AH/1175 CE.[32]

CHAPTER II
The Great and Noble Character of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi was distinguished by his great and noble character, which helped him to achieve his mighty goals. The most important of his characteristics were: courage, generosity, sincerity, tolerance, forbearance, justice, a forgiving nature, chivalry, persistence in turning to Allah, love of jihad, patience, seeking reward with Allah, eagerness in acquiring knowledge, humility, and so on. The most prominent of these characteristics were as follows:

His piety and worship

Allah (ﷻ) says:

﴿And if only the people of the cities had believed and feared Allah, certainly, We would have opened upon them blessings from the heaven and the earth; but they denied [the Messengers]. So We seized them for what they were earning.﴾ *(Qur'an 7: 96)*

Piety and fear of Allah, and achieving a total and comprehensive level of servitude to Allah (*'uboodiyyah*) protect a person from the plots and schemes of his enemies. Allah says:

﴿And if you are patient and fear Allah, their plot will not harm you at all. Indeed, Allah is encompassing of what they do.﴾ *(Qur'an 3: 120)*

Undoubtedly piety, true submission and servitude to Allah, fear of Him, thinking positively of Him and relying on Him are the primary characteristics by which a Muslim should be distinguished. These characteristics are the best that he can acquire, because that makes the Muslim like a mighty lion who cannot be defeated and like a courageous hero who does not fear death or any enemy. These attributes of faith and devotion appeared in the character of the heroic leader Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.[33] There follows what was written by the qâḍi Bahâ' ad-Deen, known as Ibn Shaddâd, who was a contemporary of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen; he met Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, learned all about him and told us what he saw:

His 'aqeedah (belief)

> He (may Allah have mercy on him) had a good and sound belief ('aqeedah) and remembered Allah frequently. He based his beliefs on demonstrable proofs, the result of his conversations with the most learned shaykhs and the most eminent scholars. This resulted in him acquiring sound beliefs that were unpolluted by anthropomorphism and prevented the arrow of speculation from overshooting the mark and inclining towards denial or misinterpretation of the divine attributes; rather his was a pure and sound doctrine, in accordance with the sound view of prominent scholars. The shaykh and imam Quṭub ad-Deen an-Neesaboori had composed for him a book of 'aqeedah which contained all that he needed to know about this topic. He took a keen interest in it and taught it to his young children so that it might become entrenched in their hearts whilst they were small. I saw them reciting it to him by heart.

Prayer

As for prayer, he was always regular in his attendance at prayers in congregation, and he said one day that for many years he had only ever offered the prayers in congregation. When he fell sick he would summon the imam alone and, forcing himself to stand, would offer the prayer behind the imam. He persistently offered the regular Sunnah prayers, and he would offer a voluntary prayer if he woke up at any time during the night; otherwise he would offer it before fajr prayer. He never missed any prayer so long as consciousness remained. I saw him, may Allah sanctify his soul, praying standing during his final sickness, and he never missed any prayer except during the last three days during which he was unconscious. If the time for prayer came whilst he was travelling, he would dismount and pray.[34]

Zakâh

As for zakâh, when he died (may Allah have mercy on him), he had not saved enough wealth for it to be subject to zakâh. As for his voluntary charity, it exhausted all that he had of wealth, because he acquired a great deal of wealth but he did not leave any gold or silver behind in his storeroom except forty-seven dirhams and a single Tyrian gold piece. He left behind no property, house, real estate, garden, village, cultivated land or any other type of wealth. May Allah have mercy on him.

Fasting during Ramadan

He missed many days of fasting during several Ramadans because of his sicknesses that came one after another. Al-Qâḍi

al-Fâḍil took on the task of keeping a record of these days, and he started to make up these missed fasts in Jerusalem in the year in which he died. He persisted in fasting for more than a month because he had to make up for what he had missed in two Ramadans, but sickness and the obligations of jihad distracted him from making them up. Fasting did not suit his nature, but Allah guided him to make up the missed fasts.[35] So he would fast and I (Ibn Shaddâd) recorded the days that he fasted, because al-Qâḍi was absent. The doctor criticized him but he paid no heed, and said: I do not know what will happen. It is as if he was making up what he owed, may Allah have mercy on him, so he continued fasting until he had made up all the days he owed.[36]

Hajj

As for Hajj, he always intended to perform it, and always wanted to do so, especially in the year in which he died. He had made up his mind to do it and issued orders that the necessary preparations be made. Provisions were collected for the journey and there was nothing left but to set out, when he postponed it for lack of time and lack of money sufficient for one of his high rank. So he delayed it until the following year, but Allah decreed what He decreed and this is something that everyone knows.[37]

Listening to the Noble Qur'an

He (may Allah have mercy on him) loved to listen to the Noble Qur'an, and he would choose the imam who was to lead him in prayer. He stipulated that the imam should have knowledge of

Qur'anic sciences and have a good memory. He would ask whoever was with him when he spent the night in the alcove of his tent to recite two, three or four long sections whilst he listened, and in his public audiences he would ask those who were accustomed to it to recite between one and twenty verses or more. One day he passed by a child who was reciting the Qur'an to his father, and he liked his recitation so much that he had the boy brought to him and gave him some of the food set aside especially for him. He also granted as an endowment to the boy and his father some of the produce of a particular field. He (may Allah have mercy on him) was soft of heart and wept readily. When he listened to the Qur'an, his heart melted and tears usually ran down his cheeks.[38]

Listening to Hadith

He (may Allah have mercy on him) was very keen to listen to hadith. When he heard of a shaykh who narrated hadiths and was listened to a great deal, he would be among those who would come to him. He would summon him and listen to him, and he would make those of his sons, Mamelukes and inner circle who were present listen as well. He would order the people to sit down when listening to Hadith, as a sign of respect. If the shaykh was one of those who did not frequent the doors of rulers and refrained from attending such gatherings, he would go to him and listen to him. He often visited al-Ḥâfidh al-Isfahâni in Alexandria — may Allah guard him — and narrated many Hadiths from him. He (may Allah have mercy on him) loved to read Hadith himself. He would summon me when he was alone and bring some books of Hadith, and read them. If he came upon a hadith in which there

was an exhortation, his heart would soften and his eyes would weep.[39]

Veneration for the beliefs of Islam

He (may Allah have mercy on him) was very respectful of the beliefs of Islam. He believed in the resurrection of physical bodies and their gathering and the recompense of the good in Paradise and of the wicked in Hell. He believed in all that is narrated in the texts of sharia, accepting these doctrines with an open heart. He despised philosophers, those who denied the divine attributes, those who denied the Day of Judgement and all those who were opposed to sharia. He ordered his son, the governor of Aleppo, al-Malik adh-Dhâhir, to put to death a young man whose name was as-Sahrawardi. It was said that he opposed and disregarded sharia, and his son had already arrested him when he was told about him. He informed the sultan about him, and he ordered that he be executed and his body hung upon a cross for several days.

Thinking positively of Allah

Ibn Shaddâd related:

(Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen) — may Allah sanctify his soul — thought positively of Allah, relied on Him and turned to Him. I myself witnessed the effects of what I am saying. That was when the Franks — may Allah humiliate them — were camping in Bayt Noobah, which is a place close to Jerusalem — may Allah guard it — which was only one day's journey away. The sultan was in Jerusalem, and he had stationed scouts[40]

surrounding the enemy. He had sent out spies and was receiving constant news of their firm resolve to come up to Jerusalem, lay siege to it and fight for it. The Muslims were very afraid because of that, so he summoned the emirs, informed them of the hardships that the Muslims were going to face, and consulted them with regard to his staying in Jerusalem. They said kind words, but their real feelings were different from those which they expressed. All insisted that there was no interest to be served by his staying in the city himself, and in fact it would pose a danger to Islam. They told him that they would stay in the city, and he should go out with a group of men from the camp to surround the enemy, as had been done at Acre. He and these troops were to cut off the supply of provisions and put pressure on the enemy. Meanwhile, they would guard the city and defend it.

The council broke up, having agreed to that, but he insisted on staying there himself, knowing that if he did not stay, no one else would stay either. When the emirs had left to go to their homes, a messenger came from them, informing him that they would not stay unless his brother al-Malik al-'Âdil or one of his sons stayed there, to be in charge of them and they would follow his commands. He realized that this was an indication that they would not stay, and he was distressed and did not know what to do. I was on duty for him that night, and it was wintertime. There was no one else with us two except Allah. Whilst we were discussing all options and possible outcomes, I began to feel sorry for him and to fear for his well being, as he had some heart problem.[41] I urged him to go to bed so that he might sleep for a while, and he (may Allah have mercy on him) said, "You must be sleepy too."

Then he got up (to go and rest). When I went home, I did some chores, then the muezzin gave the call to prayer and dawn

broke. I used to pray Fajr with him most of the time, so I entered upon him and found him pouring water over his limbs. He said, "I did not sleep at all."
I said, "I know."
He said, "How do you know?"
I said, "Because I did not sleep either; there is no time for sleep." We busied ourselves with the prayer, then we sat and resumed our discussion.
I said to him, "I have an idea, and I think it will be useful, if Allah wills."
He said, "What is it?"
I said, "Turning to Allah, seeking His help and relying on Him to save us from this calamity."
He said, "What should we do?"
I said, "Today is Friday. Your highness should perform a ritual shower before going out, and pray as usual in al-Aqṣâ, the site of the Isrâ' (night journey) of the Prophet (ﷺ). Your highness should give charity in secret, at the hand of someone you trust to do it on your behalf, and your highness should pray two units of prayer between the adhân and iqâmah, calling upon Allah whilst prostrating, as there is a sound hadith concerning that. Say within yourself: O my God, all my earthly means of supporting Your religion have been cut off, and there is nothing left except to turn to You, cling to Your rope and rely on Your grace. You are sufficient for me and are the best Disposer of affairs. Allah is too generous to let you down."

So he did all of that and I prayed beside him as I usually did. He prayed the two units of prayer between the adhân and iqâmah, and I saw him prostrating and his tears falling on his grey beard and the mat, but I could not hear what he said. The day did not end before a dispatch arrived from 'Izz ad-Deen Jurdeek, who was in charge of the scouts, informing him that

the Franks were in a state of confusion; that day they had mounted their horses and all moved to the desert, where they stayed until midday, then they returned to their tents. Early on Saturday another dispatch arrived with the same news. During the day a spy came in and told him that there was discord among the Franks; the French[42] were of the view that it was essential to lay siege to Jerusalem, whereas the king of England[43] and his followers were of the view that they should not risk the Christian cause by throwing the troops into mountainous country where there was no source of water because the Sultan had destroyed all water sources around Jerusalem. They had gone out to discuss the matter, as it was their custom to hold councils of war on horseback. They had appointed ten men to decide, and whatever they decided upon, they would not go against it. Early on Monday morning, a messenger came with the good news that they had departed, heading in the direction of Ramlah. This is what I saw of the effects of his turning to Allah and putting his trust in Him.[44]

A strong sense of justice

Allah (ﷻ) says:

﴾Indeed, Allah orders justice and good conduct and giving to relatives and forbids immorality and bad conduct and oppression. He admonishes you that perhaps you will be reminded.﴿ *(Qur'an 16: 90)*

When Allah enjoins doing something, it means that it is obligatory, as is well known. Allah says:

﴾O you who have believed! Be persistently standing firm in justice, as witnesses to Allah, even if it be against yourselves, or parents, or relatives. Whether one is rich or poor, Allah is more worthy of both.

So follow not [personal] incination, lest you not be just. And if you distort [your testimony] or refuse [to give it], then indeed Allah is ever, with what you do, Acquainted.» *(Qur'an 4: 135)*

Justice was one of the most prominent characteristics of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's leadership. He believed that justice was one of the fundamental principles of Allah in this universe; his conviction was that justice was one of the fruits of strong faith. He had learned that from his master who revived the concept of justice and in whose footsteps Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen followed: Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood Zangi. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was just, a supporter of the weak against the strong. Every Monday and Thursday he would sit in public to administer justice, attended by scholars, judges and scholars. The door was open on those two days to all disputants, so that everyone could reach him, old and young, old women and old men. He did this whether he was travelling or at home in the city. At all times he would accept the cases that were presented to him, striving to deal with every case of injustice that was presented to him. He would collect all the cases each day, and open the door of justice; he never turned away anyone who came with a case or who was seeking a judgement. Then he would sit with the scribe for a while, by night or by day, and would write for each case the verdict with which Allah inspired him; he never turned away anyone who came to him with a complaint of injustice or a need. In addition to that, he recited a great deal of dhikr and read Qur'an regularly. He was kind to people and was a defender of the faith. He was always reciting Qur'an; he knew what was in [the Book], acted upon it and never transgressed its limits. May Allah have mercy on him. No one sought his help but he would stop to listen, receive his complaint and enquire into the matter. A man from Damascus, whose name was Ibn Zuhayr, sought his help against Ṭaqi ad-Deen, his (Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's) nephew. He summoned him to appear before the tribunal, and nothing saved him from having to

appear but the fact that he produced two known and credible witnesses to attest that he had appointed the qâḍi Abu'l-Qâsim Ameen ad-Deen, the qâḍi of Hamah, to act on his behalf in this case. The two witnesses attended the tribunal and bore witness to this appointment.[45] Al-Qâḍi Ibn Shaddâd said:

> When it was proven that he had been thus appointed, I ordered Abul-Qâsim to stand next to his opponent on an equal footing, so he stood next to him — and he was one of the inner circle of the Sultan (may Allah have mercy on him) — then the court proceedings began, with the outcome that Ṭaqi ad-Deen was obliged to swear an oath, and the tribunal ended with that. The only reason why we could not summon Ṭaqi ad-Deen was that night fell. Ṭaqi ad-Deen was one of the dearest and most beloved of people to him, but he did not show him any preferential treatment.[46]

Another indication of his justice was that he would stand alongside his opponents before the judges, and he did not find any embarrassment in doing so, because in his view truth was deserving of being followed. It so happened that a merchant called 'Umar al-Khallâti claimed that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had taken one of his Mamelukes, whose name was Sunqur, and had taken possession of the great wealth of this Mameluke unlawfully. When this merchant submitted his case to the qâḍi Ibn Shaddâd, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen showed a great deal of patience, and agreed to stand as a defendant against the claimant. Each party brought witnesses and evidence to prove his case, until in the end it became clear to the qâḍi that the man was lying and that his claim against Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was false. Despite that, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen refused to let the man leave empty-handed. He ordered that he be given gifts and a sum of money, to prove his generosity at a time when he might justly have inflicted a punishment.[47]

Another indication of his justice was his concern for his people's interests and his waiving some levies and taxes in order to reduce the people's burdens and lift injustice from their shoulders. Ibn Jubayr mentions, in the context of describing Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's qualities and the legacy which he left behind as a good memory for the faith and this world, the fact that he waived many levies and taxes that had been imposed on the people for everything that they bought or sold, great or small; there was even a levy on drinking water from the Nile. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen abolished all of that.[48] There was a tax of seven and a half dinars that was imposed on every pilgrim on his way to the Hijaz, which was to be spent on the upkeep of Makkah and Madinah and to help the people there, but the Fatimids went to extremes in collecting these taxes, and anyone who could not pay them was punished severely. But Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen abolished these levies and replaced them with financial help equivalent to what had been taken from the pilgrims, to be paid every year to the people of the Hijaz. Thus he relieved the pilgrims of the harsh treatment of the tax-collectors, especially since a large number of them were poor and could not pay what was taken from them. So Allah sufficed the people at the hand of this just sultan, and brought them great relief.[49] Justice is the noblest feature of a king and the soundest support of the state, because it motivates people to obey and brings about harmony, and by means of it deeds become sound, trade flourishes, people prosper and things get better. Allah encourages and urges people to be just.[50]

Great courage

Ibn Shaddâd recounted the following:

> Courage is one of the praiseworthy attributes which a king needs to acquire as an essential quality and something that

should become second nature, so that he may deter any ambitious tendencies in the hearts of his counterparts. By means of courage the state may be protected, the kingdom will continue to be secure and he will be able to defend his subjects.[51] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was one of the greatest of courageous people, with a strong will, tough nature and immense perseverance; nothing overwhelmed him. I [Ibn Shaddâd] saw him (may Allah have mercy on him) taking up his position immediately in front of a large body of Franks, who were every moment being increased and relieved (with reinforcements), but that only increased his courage and nerve. In one night more than seventy of the enemy's ships came to Acre; I counted them from after 'aṣr prayer until the sun set, but that only increased his resolve. He would give leave to his troops and remain, attended by very few men, in the face of a strong force of the enemy. I asked Balian son of Barisan, one of the kings of the coast, when he was sitting before the Sultan on the day peace was concluded, about the number of their troops. The interpreter told me that he said: The ruler of Sidon (another of their kings and one of the most intelligent among them) and I left Tyre to join our troops (at the siege of Acre). And when we sighted them from the top of the hill, we tried to guess their numbers. He estimated their number at five hundred thousand, and I estimated it at six hundred thousand — or the other way round. I said: How many of them were lost? He said: As for the number killed, nearly one hundred thousand. As for those who died of other causes and drowning, we do not know. Of all this multitude, only a very few returned home. We had no option but to go around the enemy (for reconnaissance) once or twice every day, when we were close to them. When the fighting grew intense, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would pass between the two lines of battle, accompanied by a young

page who led his horse. He would make his way in front of his own troops from the right wing to the left wing, intent on the marshalling of his battalions, calling them up to the front and stationing them in positions he deemed advantageous to command the enemy or approach them.[52]

Some Hadith was read to him between the two lines of battle. I told him that Hadith could be heard in all important places, but there was no instance of its having been read between two lines of battle. But if his highness wanted such a thing to be told of him, it would be fine. He issued orders to that effect, so a volume was brought and someone who was present and had studied the book read to him from it. Meanwhile we remained on horseback between the battle lines, sometimes walking up and down and sometimes standing still. I did not see him express any anxiety as to the numbers or force of the enemy. Whilst occupied with his own thoughts and with the affairs of government, he would listen to all sorts of plans and discuss their (probable) results without any excitement and without losing his composure. When the Muslims were defeated in the great battle in the plain of Acre, and even the troops in the centre had taken to flight after throwing away their drums and standards,[53] he maintained the position he had taken up, having only a handful of men to support him. At last he managed to reach some rising ground and there he rallied his men. His reproaches made them so deeply ashamed that they returned with him to the fight. The victory eventually lay with the Muslims, and the enemy had more than seven thousand men killed, both horse and foot.[54] The Sultan continued to fight, but at last, seeing the strength of the enemy and the weakness of the Muslims, he listened to the proposals of his adversaries, and consented to a truce. The fact was, they were very much exhausted and had suffered greater loss than we.

But they expected the arrival of reinforcements, while we had none to hope for. Thus it was for our advantage to conclude an armistice.[55]

Generosity

Generosity is the foundation of good manners and virtuous characteristics, and the route to perfection. Noble characteristics and attitudes are connected to it, and good characteristics are regarded as noble because of their connection to generosity.[56] It is narrated that Anas (ﷺ) said: «The Prophet (ﷺ) was the best of people, the most generous of people, the most courageous of people.»[57] And it was narrated that Jâbir (ﷺ) said: «The Prophet (ﷺ) was never asked for anything and said no.»[58]

The generosity of Sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi is too well known to need setting forth in writing and too patent to require notice. Nevertheless, I will just allude to it, and mention that he who had possessed such abundance of riches, left in his treasury, after his death, no more than forty-seven Nâṣiri dirhams, and one Tyrian gold piece.[59] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was famous for his generosity. He distributed what was found in the Fatimid palaces of jewels and wealth to his commanders and companions, and did not keep anything for himself. He gave away whole provinces. When he conquered the city of Amid (Diyarbakr), Qara' Arslân asked him for it and he gave it to him.[60] He gave in times of hardship just as he gave in times of ease and plenty. On one occasion, expressing his generosity, he said: By Allah, if the whole world were given to someone who came to me, hoping for my reward, I would not think it too much for him, and if I were to empty my treasury for him, it would not compensate him for the embarrassment he went through in order to ask me for something.[61]

In another example of his generosity: If he found something in his treasury, he would not be able to feel at ease all night until he had distributed that wealth out of generosity. If he gave a man some wealth and was then told that it was not sufficient, he would give him double.[62] Whenever he saw an old man, he would feel compassion for him and give him something and treat him kindly. Whenever an orphan was brought before him, he would pray for mercy for his parents, console him and lift his spirits, and give him something. If there was a reliable adult among his family who could take care of him, he would hand him over to that person, otherwise he would give him enough supplies to suffice him, and hand him over to someone who could take care of him. Al-'Imâd al-Isfahâni described his generosity by saying:

> He loved to spend whatever income came to him on noble causes and relieving distress. He used to spend any income before he took possession of it, by diverting it elsewhere and preventing it from reaching his treasury. He never turned away anyone who came to ask of him, rather he would be kind, such as asking him to wait and telling him he did not have anything at the moment.[63]

He would give more than the person was hoping for, and to those to whom he had already given, he would show the same cheerful countenance as if he had not given them anything.[64] An estimate was made of how many horses he had given away to those who were present with him on jihad during a period of three years, from when the Franks attacked Acre in Rajab of 585 AH until the war was ended with a peace deal in Sha'bân of 588 AH, and the number reached was twelve thousand, stallions and mares and fine war horses. Ibn Shaddâd commented on that by saying:

> Those who have witnessed the multitude of his gifts will think but little of this. This is in addition to the compensation that he

> used to give in money equivalent to the value of horses that became casualties of the fighting, because no horse was killed or wounded in battle for the sake of Allah but he would compensate its owner with one like it. He did not have any valuable horse that he rode but it was already given or promised to someone else.[65]

When he died, his savings did not even meet the minimum threshold for zakâh to be payable on them, because voluntary charity had exhausted all the wealth he possessed. He who had possessed such abundance of riches, left in his treasury, after his death, no more than forty-seven Nâṣiri dirhams, and one gold dinar. He did not leave behind any house, property, garden, village, farm or any kind of wealth. This is a clear indication of his great generosity.[66] Al-Qâḍi Ibn Shaddâd said: I heard him one day, during a conversation, saying: It may be that there is someone in the world who esteems money as of little value as the dust of the earth. He was apparently alluding to himself.[67]

Concern for jihad

According to Ibn Shaddâd:

> Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was very persistent in jihad, and paid a great deal of attention to this matter. One might swear, in absolute security and without risk of perjury, that from the time when he first set out to fight in jihad, he spent not a dinar or a dirham in anything but jihad or for distribution among his troops. For him, jihad was a veritable passion; his whole heart was filled with it, and he gave body and soul to the cause. He spoke of nothing else; all his thoughts were of instruments of war, and his troops monopolized every idea. He showed all deference to those who spoke of jihad and who encouraged the people to

take part in it. His desire to fight for the sake of Allah forced him to leave his family, his children, his homeland, his house and all his physical pleasures.[68] Forsaking all these worldly enjoyments, he contented himself with dwelling beneath the shadow of a tent, shaken to the right and the left by the breath of every wind. One night, when he was in the plain of Acre, it happened, in a very high wind, that his tent fell upon him, and had he not been in the alcove, he would have lost his life. But this tended only to increase his passion, to strengthen his purpose and to confirm his resolution. Anyone anxious to ingratiate himself with the Sultan had only to encourage him in his passion for jihad and to narrate to him stories connected with it. Therefore a number of treatises upon this subject were written for him, and I myself wrote a book, at his request, on jihad and the rules and precepts to be observed therein. I incorporated in this work all the verses of the Qur'an which speak of this subject, all the hadiths which refer to it, and an explanation of all the rare words. His highness valued this treatise so greatly that he taught it in its entirety to his son, al-Malik al-Afḍal.

Whilst on the subject, I will relate what I heard mentioned. In the month of Dhul-Qa'dah in the year 584 AH, he took the fortress of Kawkab and gave his troops permission to return home immediately, and the Egyptian troops began to return to Egypt. Al-Malik al-'Âdil set out on his return to Egypt at the head of the contingent furnished by that country, and his brother, the Sultan, accompanied him as far as Jerusalem, so that he might bid him goodbye in that city, and be present at Eid al-Adha. We travelled with him. After having attended the Eid prayers in Jerusalem, he conceived the idea of going to 'Asqallân (Ascalon) with the Egyptian troops and, after parting with them, of returning by the coast road so as to

inspect the coast lands as far as Acre and restore order as he passed. We tried to make him give up this project, stating that after the departure of the troops he would have but a very small number of men with him, whilst the Franks were assembled at Tyre, and that he would thus be running a great risk. The Sultan paid no attention to our remonstrances, but proceeded to Ascalon, where he took leave of his brother and the Egyptian army. We departed with him to the coast, being at that time on duty about his person, and took the road towards Acre. It was winter time and the weather was bad. The rain fell, the sea was tossed to and fro, and the waves were like mountains, as the Most High has said *(Qur'an 11: 42)*. This was the first time that I had ever seen the sea, and such as the impression that it made upon me that if anyone had said, "Go but one mile upon the sea and I will make you master of the world," I should have refused to go. I looked upon those who go to sea to earn a few pieces of gold or silver as mad, and I endorsed the opinion of those who declared that one cannot accept the testimony of a man who is travelling on the ocean. Such were the thoughts that came into my mind at the sight of the terrible restlessness of the sea and the size of its waves. While I gave myself up to these reflections, the Sultan turned to me and said, "Would you like me to tell you something?" "Very much," I replied. "Well," he said, "when by Allah's help not a Frank is left on this coast, I mean to divide my territories, and to charge (my successors) with my last commands; then, having taken leave of them, I will sail on this sea to their islands in pursuit of them, until there shall not remain upon the face of the earth one disbeliever in Allah, or I will die in the attempt." These words made all the deeper impression upon me because they were so utterly opposed to what I myself had just been feeling, and I said, "There is no

> man in this world braver than your highness, nor any man more firmly resolved to support the true Faith." "Why do you say that?" he asked. I replied, "As to bravery, I see that your highness is not infected with the dread that the sea inspires in others; and as to your zeal for the true Faith, I see that your highness is not content with driving the enemies of Allah from one particular place, but that you would purify the whole earth of them." Then I added, "Your highness' intention is excellent indeed. Embark your troops and let them depart; but you, who are the pillar and bulwark of Islam, must not thus expose yourself and risk your life." He replied, "What, I ask you, is the most glorious of deaths?" I replied, "To die in the way of Allah." "Then," he said, "I strive for the door of the most glorious of deaths."[69]

There was a letter sent by al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen when he was in Syria and wanted to engage in jihad and expel the enemy from the Muslim lands, but there were some distractions that prevented Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen from hastening to engage in jihad. The Sultan was deeply distressed by that, so al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil wrote to him to put his mind at rest and reduce his distress. Among the things that he said in his letter was:

> As for his highness' distress concerning the times when he was distracted from fulfilling the obligation for which he left his home and new events kept cropping up with seemingly no end, his highness will be rewarded according to his intention. Does not Allah know best about His slaves, and He does not ask the doer about the completion of his action because that is beyond his control. But He will ask him about his intention because that is the basis of worship, and He will ask him whether he did his best. If his highness was preparing for jihad and clearing the way for supplies and reinforcements, then he has been

engaging in acts of worship which Allah has blessed by making them lengthy, and the reward will be commensurate with the hardship endured. Hajj is great in the sight of Allah because of the effort and long distances involved. If his highness managed to achieve great victories in a few days, and decide the case between the people of Islam and the enemies of Islam, then the effort of jihad would have ended and the rewards for good deeds that could have been earned by watching and waiting would have ceased.[70]

Forbearance

Forbearance is indicative of a good attitude, and a sign of high drive and ambition. It is one of the noblest of characteristics, and a sign of maturity and wisdom, because of what Allah has created in it of calmness, tranquillity, sweetness, protection of honour, physical wellbeing, praiseworthiness and being above vengeance. A man cannot become noble unless he has these great characteristics.[71] Allah (ﷻ) says:

﴾Show forgiveness, enjoin what is good, and turn away from the foolish.﴿ *(Qur'an 7: 199)*

Sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi was forbearing, often pardoning those who committed offences; he had a good attitude and was patient in putting up with things he disliked. He often overlooked the mistakes of his companions; if he heard from any of them something that he disliked, he did not say anything and he did not change the way he treated him. One day he was sitting and one of his Mamelukes threw his shoe at another, but it missed the Mameluke and fell near the Sultan. He turned in the opposite direction, trying to ignore it.[72] Al-Qâḍi Shihâb ad-Deen said:

> One day my mule spooked at a camel whilst I was riding next to him (Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen), and I pressed against his hip, causing him pain, but he smiled. Two bags of Egyptian gold were stolen from his storehouse and replaced with two bags of coins of lesser value, and he did not do anything to those who had done that except dismiss them from their posts.[73]

Al-Qâḍi Ibn Shaddâd said:

> I was on duty in his presence in Marj 'Ayyoon some time before the Franks attacked Acre. It was his custom to ride out each day at the hour appointed for mounting on horseback; afterwards, when he dismounted, he had dinner served, and ate with all the people. Then he retired to a specially-reserved tent, where he took a siesta. On awaking, he would say his prayers, and remain alone with me for some time. We would read some Hadith or fiqh. He also studied with me a short book by Sulaym ar-Râzi[74] which included the four components of fiqh. One day he dismounted as was his wont, and the food was served before him. He went to get up, but he was told that the time for prayer was at hand, so he sat down again and said, "We will pray and then sleep." Then he entered into conversation, although he looked very weary. He had already dismissed all those who were on duty. Shortly afterwards, an old Mameluke, whom he held in high regard, entered the tent and presented a petition on behalf of some of the volunteers who were engaging in jihad. He (the Sultan) said, "I am tired now; leave it a while." But he (the old man) did not obey; he brought the petition close to his (the Sultan's) face, so that he could read it, and his (the Sultan's) gaze fell on the name that was written at the top of the list, which he recognized. He said, "(He is) a man who deserves (a fair hearing)." The Mameluke said, "Then let my master write his approval on the petition."

The Sultan answered, "There is no inkstand here." He was sitting at the entrance to the tent, which was a large one. No one could enter, but we could see the inkstand inside. "It is there, inside the tent," said the Mameluke, as though requesting his highness to fetch the inkstand himself. The Sultan turned and saw the inkstand, then he said, "By Allah, he is right." Then he leaned on his left arm and reached out his right hand and brought it closer, and he signed the petition for him. I said, "Allah said concerning His Prophet (ﷺ):

﴾And indeed, you [O Muhammad] are of a great moral character.﴿ *(Qur'an 68: 4)*

I think that your highness is possessed of the same character." He said, "We did not lose anything; we have met his need and the reward has been attained." But if this incident had happened to any ordinary person, he would have gotten annoyed. Who can address the one under whose authority he is in such a manner? This is the utmost kindness and forbearance, and Allah does not cause the reward of those who do good to be lost.[75]

The people who came to implore the help of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen or to complain to him of injustice sometimes addressed him in the most unseemly manner, but he always listened, smiling, and attended to their requests. Here is an instance, the like of which it would be difficult to find on record. One of the kings of the Franks, may Allah humiliate them, was marching on Jaffa, for our troops had withdrawn from the vicinity of the enemy and returned to Natrona. The Sultan ordered his troops to march in the direction of Caesarea, hoping to encounter reinforcements expected by the Franks, and to take any advantage possible. The Franks in Jaffa had notice of this manoeuvre, and the King of England,[76] who was there with a large force, embarked the greater portion of it, and sent it by sea to

Caesarea, fearing lest some mischance should befall the reinforcements. Richard (the King of England) remained in Jaffa with a small group, because he knew that the Sultan and his army had withdrawn and were far away. When Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen reached Caesarea, he found that the reinforcements had already entered the place and were safe, so he could do nothing. So he resumed his march that same evening, just as night began to close in, pushed on until daybreak, and appeared unexpectedly before Jaffa. Richard was encamped outside the city walls and had only seventeen knights with him and about three hundred foot-soldiers. At the first alarm this accursed man (Richard) mounted his horse, for he was brave and fearless, and possessed excellent judgement in all military matters. Instead of retiring into the city, he maintained his position in face of the Muslim troops, who surrounded him on all sides except towards the city, and drew up his own men in battle order. The Sultan, anxious to make the most of this opportunity, gave the order to charge, but one of the Kurdish commanders addressed him at that moment with the utmost rudeness, angry at the smallness of his share of the booty. The Sultan turned his rein and hastened away like a man who was angry, because he saw clearly that his troops would do no good that day. Leaving them there, he turned back and ordered that the tent which had been pitched for him be struck, and his soldiers were withdrawn from their position. They felt certain that the Sultan would crucify or kill some that day...but the Sultan kept marching until he halted at Yazoor, which was a pleasant place to stop, where a small tent was set up for him, in which he rested. The troops also encamped in the places where they had halted before, and bivouacked under slight shelter, as is usual in such cases. There was not one of the commanders but trembled for himself, expecting to suffer a severe punishment or reprimand at the hands of the Sultan. As one of them said:

I had not the courage to enter his tent until he called for me.

> When I went in, I saw that he had just received a quantity of fruit that had been sent to him from Damascus, may Allah guard it. He said, "Send for the commanders, so that they may eat some." These words removed my anxiety and I went to summon the commanders. They entered trembling, but he received them with smiles and so graciously that they were reassured and set at ease. And when they left his presence they were ready to march as though nothing had happened.[77]

His forbearance was not limited to his followers, subject ands troops; rather it went beyond that and encompassed his enemies who were fighting him[78], as we shall see below in shâ' Allah.

Chivalry

Chivalry is a combination of noble characteristics, good manners and perfect manhood. It makes others show a great deal of respect towards the one who is possessed of it, and fills them with awe. The essence of chivalry is strength of character which results in fine deeds which are praiseworthy according to the dictates of sharia, reason and tradition.[79] Ibn al-Qayyim said:

> The essence of chivalry is the avoidance of vile and base words, attitudes and actions. Chivalry of the tongue means sweetness, softness and kindness, and an easy way of uttering useful words. Chivalry of attitude means forbearance and patience with both loved ones and enemies. Chivalry of wealth means spending it in the proper manner which is praiseworthy according to the dictates of reason, tradition and sharia. Chivalry of high status means helping the one who needs it. Chivalry of kindness means hastening to be kind, making kindness easily available and not thinking of it as anything important when doing it, as well as forgetting it after doing it.

> This is the chivalry of giving; as for the chivalry of restraint, it means refraining from disputes, rebukes, demands and arguments.[80]

Sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was very chivalrous, cheerful of countenance, very shy, presenting a smiling face to the guests who came to see him; he would not allow his guest to depart before he ate with him. No one asked him for anything but he would do it for him, and he would honour the one who came to him, even if he was a non-Muslim. Al-Qâḍi Ibn Shaddâd said:

> I was present at Nazareth when the Sultan received the visit of the Lord of Sidon; he showed him every mark of respect, treated him with honour, and admitted him to his own table. He even proposed to him that he should embrace Islam, set before him some of the beauties of our religion, and urged him to adopt it.
>
> He always gave a kind reception to shaykhs, to all learned and gifted men, and to the various influential persons who came to see him. He enjoined us to present to him every notable shaykh passing through the camps, so that he might exercise his generosity. In the year 584 AH, there came a man who combined Sharia knowledge and Sufism; he was an important personage, who was devoted to the pursuit of knowledge. He had performed Hajj and come to visit the sacred house of Allah (in Jerusalem). Having inspected that city and seen there the works of the Sultan, he conceived the wish to see him. He arrived in the camp and entered my tent unannounced. I made haste to bid him welcome, and asked what motive had brought him thither. He answered that the sight of the wonderful and beautiful works of the Sultan had inspired him with the desire to see him. I reported this to the Sultan the same night and he ordered that the man be presented to him. He learned from his

lips a hadith concerning the Prophet (ﷺ), and he thanked him for his services to Islam and encouraged him to do good, then we left. He stayed overnight in my tent, and when we had prayed Fajr he took his leave. I remarked to him that it would be very unseemly to depart without bidding farewell to the Sultan, but he would not yield to my remonstrances and carried out his original purpose. He said, "I have accomplished my desire with regard to him; my only object in coming here was to visit him and see him," and he departed forthwith. A few days later, the Sultan enquired after him and I told him what had occurred. He was much vexed that I had not informed him of the visitor's departure. "What, am I to receive the visit of such a man and let him depart with no experience of my liberality?" he said. He expressed such strong disapproval of my conduct that I wrote to Muḥiy ad-Deen, the qâḍi of Damascus, charging him to seek the man out and give him a letter that I enclosed, which was written in my own hand. In this note I informed (the visitor) of the Sultan's displeasure on learning that he had left without seeing him again, and I begged him, in the name of our friendship, to return. He arrived when I was least thinking of him, and I took him at once to the Sultan, who received him graciously, kept him for several days, and sent him away laden with gifts — a robe of honour, a suitable riding-animal and a great number of garments for distribution among the members of his family, his disciples and neighbours. He also gave him money for his travelling expenses. Ever afterwards, the man displayed the greatest gratitude to the Sultan and offered up the most sincere prayers for the preservation of his life.[81]

Ibn Shaddâd also noted:

I was present one day when a Frankish prisoner was brought

before him. The man was in such a state of agitation that his terror was visible in every feature. The interpreter asked him the cause of his fear, and Allah put the following answer in his mouth, "Before I saw his face I was greatly afraid, but now that I am in his presence and can see him, I am certain that he will do me no harm." The Sultan, moved by these words, gave him his life and sent him away free.[82]

I was attending the prince on one of the expeditions he used to make on the flanks of the enemy, when one of the scouts brought up a woman who was very distressed, weeping a great deal and beating her breast without ceasing. The soldier said, "This woman came out from among the Franks and asked to be taken to the Sultan, so I brought her here." The Sultan asked her, through the interpreter, what was the matter, and she replied, "Some Muslim thieves got into my tent last night, and carried off my daughter. All night long I have never ceased begging for help, until dawn. Then I was told, 'The king is merciful. We will allow you to go out and seek him and ask for your daughter.' So they permitted me to pass through the lines, and in you lies my only hope of finding my child." The Sultan was moved by her distress; tears came into his eyes and, acting on the generosity of his heart, he sent a messenger to the marketplace of the camp, to ask about the girl and who had bought her, so that he could pay her price and bring her. It was early morning when her case was heard, and in less than an hour the horseman returned, bearing the little girl on his shoulder. As soon as the mother caught sight of her, she threw herself on the ground, rolling her face in the dust, and the people wept at what had befallen her. She raised her eyes to heaven, and uttered words that we did not understand. Her daughter was handed back to her and she was taken back to their camp.[83]

Reynald de Châtillon (known in the Arabic sources as Prince Arnât), Lord of Kerak, and the king of the Franks of the seacoast, were both brought before him when they were taken prisoner at the battle of Hattin in 583 AH, the famous battle which we will discuss in the appropriate place, in shâ' Allah. This vile Reynald was an accursed disbeliever, and a very hard-hearted and tough man. On one occasion, when there was a truce between the Muslims and the Franks, he treacherously attacked and carried off a caravan that passed through his territory, coming from Egypt. He seized these people, put them to torture, and put some of them in grain-pits, and imprisoned some in narrow cells. When they objected that there was a truce between the two peoples, he replied, "Ask your Muhammad to deliver you!" The Sultan, to whom these words were reported, took an oath to slay the infidel with his own hand, if Allah should ever place him in his power. On the day of the battle of Hattin, Allah delivered this man into the hands of the Sultan, and he resolved at once to slay him, so that he might fulfil his oath. He ordered that he be brought before him, together with the king. The king complained of thirst, and the Sultan ordered that a cup of sherbet be given to him. The king, having drunk some of it, handed the cup to Reynald, whereupon the Sultan said to the interpreter, "Say to the king, 'It is you who give him to drink, but I give him neither to drink nor to eat.'"

By these words he wished it to be understood that honour forbade him to harm any man who had tasted his hospitality. He then struck him on the neck with his own hand, to fulfil the vow he had made. After this, when he had taken Acre, he delivered all the prisoners, to the number of about four thousand, from their wretched durance, and sent them back to their own country and their homes, giving each of them a sum of money for his travel expenses.[84]

Al-Qâḍi Ibn Shaddâd narrated this story which speaks of his great tolerance and rare chivalry. Ibn Shaddâd says:

> When the English King Richard the Lionhearted, the greatest opponent of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, fell sick, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sent fruits and ice to comfort him, and the Crusaders were amazed at this great tolerance and generosity that their Muslim enemies showed towards them.[85]

The Sultan was of a sociable disposition, sweet-tempered and delightful to talk with. He was well acquainted with the pedigrees of the old Arabs, and with the details of their battles; he knew all their adventures, and he had the pedigrees of their horses at his fingertips. He was a master of all strange and curious lore. Thus in conversation with him, people always heard things that they could never have learned from others. In company he was well mannered; he comforted those who were in trouble, questioned those who were ill on the nature of their malady, or the treatment they had adopted, or their food and drink. He insisted strictly on due seemliness in conversation, never suffering anyone to be spoken of except with respect; he would talk with none but persons of good conversation, lest his ears should be offended. Having his tongue under perfect control, he never gave way to abusive language; he could also control his pen, and never made use of cutting words when writing to a Muslim. He was most strict in the fulfilment of his promises.

When an orphan was brought before him, he always exclaimed, "May Allah's mercy be upon the two (parents) who have left this child behind them!" Then he would lavish comfort upon him and allow him the same emoluments that his father had enjoyed. If the orphan had an experienced and trustworthy person among his relatives, he would charge him with the care of the boy, otherwise he would deduct from the father's emoluments sufficient for the orphan's maintenance, and then place him with some person who superintended his education and upbringing. He never saw an old man without showing him the kindest marks of respect and good will,

and making him some present. And all these qualities remained undimmed in his heart until Allah called him to Himself.[86]

Patience and hope for Allah's reward

Patience is the best of attributes, one that should be with a person all the time on the way to attaining a position of religious leadership and the ultimate victory. There is no good characteristic that is not derived from patience. Patience is the foundation of praiseworthy qualities, the root of goodness, and the basis of success. The meaning of the word patience is prevention and restraint. Patience means restraining oneself from panic and preventing the tongue from complaining and preventing the hands from slapping the cheeks or rending the garments. The reality of patience is that it is one of the good characteristics that one may attain and by means of which one refrains from doing that which is not right or proper. It is a kind of strength that a person should attain, by means of which he can keep himself sound and in good shape.[87] And it was said that patience is dealing with calamities in a proper manner whilst displaying a good attitude.[88]

Allah, may He be glorified and exalted, mentions patience in ninety-odd places in His Noble Book, which indicates that it is obligatory. He connected the attainment of most high levels of goodness to patience, and made them the result of it. He rewards the patient with a combination of many things put together, a reward that is not attained by anyone else. Allah (ﷻ) says:

﴾Those are the ones upon whom are blessings from their Lord and mercy. And it is those who are the [rightly] guided.﴿ *(Qur'an 2: 157)*

And it was narrated that Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqâs said: «I said: O Messenger of Allah, who among people is most sorely tested? He

said: The Prophets, then the next best, then the next best. A man will be tested according to his level of religious commitment. If he is more strongly committed, his test will be more severe, and if he is less strongly committed, he will be tested according to his level of commitment. A person will keep being tried and tested until he is left walking on the earth with no sin on him.»[89]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was patient in bearing the bitterness and hardship of life, even though he was perfectly able to live a different life. He was a brilliant example of patience and seeking Allah's reward in all aspects of jihad and coping with disasters and calamities. Qâḍi Ibn Shaddâd said:

> I saw him, in the plain of Acre, in great suffering from a sickness that had come upon him; an eruption of pustules appeared on his body, from his waist to his knees, and this prevented him from sitting up. He was obliged to sit leaning on one side when he was in his tent, and he could not sit at a table. Therefore he had all the dishes that had been prepared for him distributed among the people who were there. He repaired to his war-tent close to the enemy. After having drawn up his army in order of battle, on the right wing, on the left, and in the centre, he remained on horseback from early morning until after Dhuhr prayer, engaged in surveying the battalions, and again from the time of 'aṣr until sunset. During the whole time he bore most patiently the great pain caused by the throbbing of the tumours. I was astounded at this, but he kept on saying, "The pain leaves me when I am on horseback, and only returns when I dismount." What a proof of Allah's care!
>
> Whilst we were at al-Kharrooba, after the Sultan had been obliged to leave Tell al-Ḥajal (the hill of partridges) on account of illness, the Franks received news of his departure, and sallied forth (from their camp) in the hope of striking a

blow at the Muslims, taking advantage of his sickness. It was the day on which they usually took their horses to the watering-place. They marched on as far as the wells which lay a day's journey away, at the foot of Tell al-Ḥajal. The Sultan sent his baggage back in the direction of Nazareth, and allowed 'Imâd ad-Deen, ruler of Sinjar, to accompany it, for this prince also was ill. The Sultan himself maintained his position. The next day, seeing that the enemy was marching upon us, he mounted his horse, sick as he was, and drew up his men to await the attack. To al-Malik al-'Âdil, he gave the command of the right wing; to (his nephew) Ṭaqi ad-Deen, he entrusted the left; and he placed his sons, al-Malik adh-Dhâhir and al-Malik al-Afḍal, in the centre. He himself took up a position threatening the enemy's rear. He came directly down from the hill when a Frank was brought up who had just been made prisoner, and as the unhappy man refused to embrace Islam, he had him beheaded in his presence. The enemy continued their march to the river head and, as they advanced, the Sultan made a flank movement so as to get in their rear and cut them off from their camp. From time to time he halted to dismount and rest under the shadow of a piece of cloth that was held over his head. Although the heat of the sun was excessive, he would not allow a tent to be pitched for fear that the enemy might learn that he was ill. The Franks, having reached the river head, halted, and the Sultan took up a commanding position on rising ground opposite to them. When day was closing, he ordered his men to return to the posts they had at first occupied, and to remain all night under arms. He himself withdrew to the rear with us, who were on duty, and had his tent pitched on the summit of the hill. His physician and I passed the night in ministering to him. His sleep, which was often broken, lasted until daybreak. He drew

up his troops with a view to surrounding the enemy. Their army commenced to retire towards the camp, from the west bank of the river, and the Muslims pressed close upon them during the whole of that day. The Sultan sent forward those of his sons who were with him, putting his trust in Allah — namely al-Malik adh-Dhâhir, al-Malik al-Afḍal and al-Malik adh-Dhâfir. One after another he sent all the members of his suite to the fight, until at last he had no one with him except his physician, myself, the inspector of military stores and equipment, and the young pages who bore the banners and standards — not a soul besides. Anyone seeing these standards from afar would have thought that a great number of people were drawn up beneath them, and there was no one beneath them except one who was equal to a multitude of people. The enemy continued their march in spite of their losses. Every time a man was killed, they buried him at once, and they carried off their wounded so that no one might know the extent of their loss. We watched every movement of their retreat, and perceived that they were sorely harassed before they reached the bridge and made a stand. Each time they halted the Muslims despaired of attaining their goal, for as soon as the Franks formed line and stood shoulder to shoulder, they were able to resist all attacks with vigour and effect. Until the evening, the Sultan remained in his position and his troops remained on horseback facing the enemy. Then he gave orders that this night should be passed like the last. We again took up our former positions and occupied them until morning. The next day our troops began to annoy the enemy as they had done on the previous day, and forced them to continue their march, much harassed by fighting, and the loss of men. On nearing the camp, they received reinforcements that enabled them to reach it in safety.

> What patience we see here displayed! What self-control this man exerted, seeking thereby the reward of Allah![90]

Qâḍi Ibn Shaddâd also related:

> I was present on the day when he received the news of the death of his son Ismâ'eel, a young man just in the flower of his youth. He read the contents of the letter, but said nothing about it to anyone. We learned the loss he had sustained through another channel. His face had given no sign whilst he read the dispatch, but we had seen the tears in his eyes.[91]
>
> One night, whilst we were under the walls of Safad, a fortified city to which he was laying siege, I heard him say: "We will not sleep tonight until they have planted five mangonels,[92]" and at each mangonel he stationed workmen sufficient to put it together. We spent the night with him most pleasantly, enjoying a charming conversation, whilst all the time messengers kept arriving, one after another, to report the progress made in the construction of these engines. By morning the work was finished, and nothing remained but to lay the chains. Throughout the night, which was very long, the cold was cutting and the rain relentless.
>
> I was present when he received the news of the death of his nephew Ṭaqi ad-Deen 'Umar. We were encamped at the time with a detachment of light cavalry in the neighbourhood of Ramlah, opposite to the Franks.[93] Their troops were stationed at Yazoor, and so near to us that they could have reached us by a short gallop. He summoned al-Malik al-'Âdil, 'Âlim ad-Deen Sulaymân ibn Jandar, Sâbiq ad-Deen ibn al-Dâyah and 'Izz ad-Deen al-Muqaddam, then he commanded all the people in his tent to withdraw a bow-shot off. He then took out the letter and read it, weeping so much that those who were

present wept with him, without knowing the cause of his sorrow. Then, his voice choked with tears, he announced to them that Ṭaqi ad-Deen was dead. His lamentations, and those of all around, had commenced afresh when I recovered my presence of mind and uttered these word, "Ask Allah's forgiveness for allowing yourselves thus to give way; behold where you are and in what you are engaged. Cease your weeping, and turn your thoughts to something else." The Sultan responded by begging forgiveness of Allah again and again. He then enjoined us to say nothing on this subject to any person. Then, having called for a little rose-water, he bathed his eyes and ordered a meal to be served, of which we were all to partake. No one knew anything of what had occurred until the enemy had withdrawn in the direction of Jaffa. We subsequently retired again to Natrona, where we had left our baggage.[94]

Fulfilment of covenants

Fulfilment of covenants is a sublime characteristic and a noble quality. Allah enjoined it upon people and praised them for doing it, as He says:

﴾O you who have believed, Fulfil [all] contracts.﴿ *(Qur'an 5: 1)*

﴾They [are those who] fulfil [their] vows, and fear a Day whose evil will be widespread.﴿ *(Qur'an 76: 7)*

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi set an example of fulfilment of covenants. When he made a peace deal he adhered to it, and when he made a covenant he fulfilled it. Ibn Wâṣil states that after Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen recaptured Jerusalem, the patriarch of that city came out with the wealth of the monasteries, the extent of which only Allah knew,

as Ibn Wâṣil said, and his personal wealth was equally great. But Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did not disturb him, and when it was suggested to him that he should take what the man had in order to strengthen the Muslims, he said, "I will not betray him." And he did not take anything from him but that which was imposed upon any regular Frankish man, namely ten dinars. Then he sent with the patriarch and his entourage troops to protect them until they reached the city of Tyre, where the Franks had a fortress and a place to gather after their defeat in Hattin and the recapture of the cities and sites in Syria that they had controlled.[95]

Humbleness

Humbleness is one of the characteristics of the slaves of the Most Merciful. Allah (ﷻ) says:

﴾And the servants of the Most Merciful are those who walk on the earth in humility.﴿ *(Qur'an 25: 63)*

Humility is a sign of Allah's love for a person, as Allah says:

﴾O you who have believed, whoever of you should revert from his religion, Allah will bring forth a people whom He will love and who will love Him; humble towards the believers, powerful against the disbelievers, they strive in the way of Allah, and do not fear of the blame of a critic. That is the favor of Allah; He bestows it on whom He wills. And Allah is all-Encompassing and Knowing.﴿

(Qur'an 5: 54)

Ibn Katheer said: These are the attributes of the perfect believers: the believer is humble towards his brother, and shows pride towards his opponent.[96] Sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi had the characteristic of humility. He was close to the people, very tolerant and kind; he did not show arrogance towards any of his companions.

He was patient in putting up with that which he disliked, and often overlooked the mistakes of those who were with him. He would hear something he disliked from one of them but would not tell him about that or change the way he dealt with him. His carpet would be stepped on if there was a crowd and everyone had a story to tell him, and he would not be upset by that. Ibn Shaddâd recalled, "My mule spooked at a camel whilst I was riding next to him (Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen), and I pressed against his hip, causing him pain, but he just smiled."[97] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was a good example to his followers; he would start a task himself, then call others to follow his lead. This action is indicative of sound wisdom, because he understood that the sublime position in any society belongs to those who take action. Action is the basis for evaluating individuals and societies, and is the basis of all social relationships. Because of this, the people, common folk and elite alike, loved him and strove hard to serve him and support him. This love was the secret of his success and strength, because what others attained by using means of harshness and terror, he achieved by means of love, compassion and sound conduct.[98] His companions would try to imitate him and compete in doing good, as Allah says:

﴾And We will remove whatever is in their breasts of resentment.﴿
(Qur'an 15: 47)

When he decided to build the walls of Jerusalem and dig a moat around it, he took this mission upon himself, and began to carry the stones on his shoulders. All the people followed his example, scholars, rich men, relatives and the poor and weak, and the people respected him because of that. In 587 AH/1191 CE, Mu'izz ad-Deen Qaysar Shah ibn Kilij Arslân, the ruler of Anatolia, came to the Sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, who honoured him and gave the daughter of his brother al-'Âdil to him in marriage. When Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen rode out to bid him farewell, Mu'izz ad-Deen dismounted for him, and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen also dismounted. When the Sultan wanted to ride, Mu'izz

ad-Deen helped him to mount his horse. 'Ala' ad-Deen ibn 'Izz ad-Deen, the ruler of Mosul, was with the Sultan at that time, and he also straightened his clothes. One of the people present, who was amazed at this great respect shown to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, whispered, "O son of Ayub, you wouldn't care how you die, for a Seljuk king and a son of Atabeg Zangi helped you to mount!"[99] This is just a brief look at the moral credit of the founder of the Ayubid state.

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had a number of praiseworthy characteristics and noble qualities, such as ambition, resolve and strong management; the ability to solve problems, plan, direct, organize and supervise; and other characteristics. Because of the great attributes that Allah had bestowed upon him, he was able to unite Syria, Mosul, Egypt and other lands under his leadership, and to achieve the greatest victory over the Crusaders at Hatteen and to recapture Jerusalem. His unique efforts were crowned with great results at the individual, communal and state levels, and his resistance movement against bâtini infiltration and the Crusader invasion became a beacon for those who were striving for the glory of Islam. One day Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen disclosed the secret of his strength when he was speaking with his son al-Malik adh-Dhâhir in Jerusalem, after drawing up a peace treaty with Richard the Lionhearted, and before giving his son permission to go to Aleppo; he advised him:

> I urge you to fear Allah, for it is the root of all goodness, and I enjoin you to adhere to that which Allah commands you, for it is the means of your salvation. I warn you against shedding blood and indulging therein, for blood never sleeps. I urge you to be kind to the people and to take care of them, for you are my trustee and the trustee of Allah over them. I urge you to be kind to the emirs, state officials and prominent people, for I have not attained the position I have attained except by being kind to people. Do not bear grudges against anyone, for death

will not leave anyone. Watch the relationship between you and people, for sins concerning them cannot be forgiven except with their consent, but what is between you and Allah will be forgiven if you repent, for He is Most Generous.[100]

CHAPTER III
Beliefs ('Aqeedah) of the Ayubid State

Restoring the identity of the Muslim ummah and restoring the beliefs ('aqeedah) of Ahl as-Sunnah wal-Jamâ'ah were among the most prominent features of renewal during the Zangid and Ayubid eras. Deviation had gone on for too long and innovations (bid'ah) had become widespread, protected by the unjust Fatimid 'Ubaydi state in Egypt. Hence the return to rule in accordance with the Qur'an and Sunnah was one of the greatest achievements of the states of Noor ad-Deen and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. Justice was established and innovation suppressed, and the state acquired a pure Islamic identity. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi followed in the footsteps of Noor ad-Deen Zangi in implementing sharia in all matters and affairs of state, carrying out justice, and putting an end to wrongdoing. He himself supervised the process of restoring people's rights, with the help of the judges and scholars. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had the qualities of faith, worship, piety, fear of Allah, trust in Him and turning to Him. He was of sound belief, remembering Allah often, and he imbued his state with the beliefs of Ahl as-Sunnah wal-Jamâ'ah which were taught by the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) and were followed by the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, and the Ayubids persisted in this belief after the death of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had the deepest respect for the symbols of Islam; he despised the philosophers and those who denied the divine attributes and opposed shariah. If he heard of any stubborn heretic in his kingdom, he would issue orders that he be executed. He fought the

Ismaili Shiite school of thought, and managed to implement the plans which had been set out by Noor ad-Deen Zangi to put an end to the heretical'Ubaydi Fatimid state. He strove to fight corrupt beliefs in Egypt and to restore sound Islamic thought in that land by means of a clear strategy. The Ayubid state benefited from academic efforts and *da'wah*[101] methods developed by the Seljuk, Zangid and Ghaznavid states. The Ayubid state came after several Sunni states which had contributed to spreading the Qur'an and Sunnah among the Muslim ummah. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi paid a great deal of attention to preserving the basic principles of Islamic belief in accordance with the madh-hab of Ahl as-Sunnah. They followed the methodology of the Ash'ari madh-hab and strove hard to fight any deviation therefrom and put an end to any manifestations of deviation. Most of the Ayubids had deep knowledge of the general principles of this belief.[102] Ibn Shaddâd says concerning Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen: He (may Allah have mercy on him) had a sound belief and frequently remembered Allah. He acquired his belief on the basis of evidence by studying under the most learned shaykhs and greatest scholars. Thus he acquired belief that was sound and free of the taint of anthropomorphism, without it leading to him denying any divine attributes or engaging in misinterpretation. Shaykh Quṭub ad-Deen an-Neesaboori compiled for him a book of belief ('aqeedah) which summed up all that he needed to know on this topic. He was very keen on this book and taught it to his young children, so that it would become entrenched in their minds from an early age. I saw him teaching it to them as they stood before him.[103] The Ayubid state strove to spread the beliefs of Ahl as-Sunnah in all parts of Egypt, and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was keen to ensure that the beliefs of Ahl as-Sunnah were influential in the educational and academic establishments that he founded.[104]

The Ayubids established a large number of Sunni schools

This stage began in 572 AH/1176 CE, after Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen managed to annex most of Syria and bring it under his authority and then returned to Egypt to manage its affairs. In this year he issued orders that two schools be built: one for the Shâfi'is near the grave of Imam ash-Shâfi'i, which was known as al-Madrasah as-Ṣalâḥiyah, and the other for the Hanafis. That was followed by the founding of Sunni schools in many places in Cairo and elsewhere on the part of Ayubid emirs and their helpers. We cannot speak of all of these schools because there were so many, as establishing schools became a tradition that was followed by all prominent figures in the state at that time, both men and women.[105] Rather we will focus on the most famous of these schools, which played a role in the great transformation of Egyptian society from the Shiite madh-hab to the Sunni.[106]

Al-Madrasah aṣ-Ṣalâḥiyah

Construction of this school began in 572 AH/1176 CE at the shrine of Imam ash-Shâfi'i. It was an endowment that was set up for the Shâfi'is, which as-Suyooti described as "the crown of schools," then he stated that teaching in this school was supervised by the scholar and ascetic Najm ad-Deen al-Khabooshâni. Ibn Jubayr visited this school at the end of Dhul-Hijjah in 578 AH/1183 CE, when work on its expansion was still ongoing. Ibn Jubayr said that nothing like this school had been built anywhere in the land, and there was nothing like it in its size and quality of construction: the one who visited it might imagine that it was an independent state, the costs of which were incalculable. Shaykh al-Khabooshâni himself

was in charge of it, and the Sultan who was in charge of Egypt, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, allowed him that and said: Spend more and make it more beautiful, and we will take care of the costs. Ibn Jubayr stated that he was keen to meet al-Khabooshâni, because he was famous in Andalusia.[107] Perhaps this comment of Ibn Jubayr confirms that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen chose teachers for his schools from among the men of knowledge, virtue and righteousness, and from among those who were famous in the Muslim world, so that at their hands the goals he wanted could be achieved and so that they would serve as an element to attract seekers of knowledge from all parts of the Muslim world.[108]

Madrasah al-Mashhad al-Ḥusayni

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen built a school in Cairo next to the shrine that is attributed — falsely — to al-Ḥusayn, and he allocated a large endowment to it,[109] as was indicated by al-Maqreezi in his discussion of al-Mashhad al-Ḥusayni (the Husayn Shrine). He said:

> When as-Sultan an-Nâṣir (Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen) came to power, he established a teaching circle and scholars there, and he appointed the faqeeh al-Bahâ' ad-Dimashqi to teach there. He would sit at the niche behind which was the tomb. When Ma'een ad-Deen Ḥasan ibn Shaykh al-Mashâyikh became the vizier of al-Malik al-Kâmil, he collected enough money from the endowments to be able to build a room for teaching as exists now, and rooms for the scholars on the upper floors.[110]

The general aim which Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was seeking by establishing Sunni schools in Egypt was to strengthen the Sunni madh-hab and put an end to the Shiite madh-hab, so establishing this school inside the Husayn shrine served a special purpose. It was one of the last strongholds of the Shiite remnant in Egypt and of those of the Sunni masses whom the Fatimids were able to attract. Hence it

was essential to establish a school in this place to teach the true faith, and to fight the innovations spread by the Fatimids.[111]

Al-Madrasah al-Fâḍiliyah

Another of the important schools that were founded during this period was al-Madrasah al-Fâḍiliyah which was built by al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil in 580 AH/1184 CE, which he donated as an endowment devoted to the Shâfi'is and Mâlikis. One of its halls was allocated to the imam al-Qâsim Abu Muhammad ash-Shâtibi (the author of *ash-Shâtibiyah*, d. 596 AH/1294 CE) to teach Qur'an and the various recitations. A large number of books were donated as an endowment to this school, the number of which was said to be one hundred thousand. Alongside it was allocated a place to teach orphans at appointed times. Al-Maqreezi described this school as one of the greatest schools of Cairo.[112] Sulṭân al-'Âdil, the brother of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, also built a school for the Malikis, as was also done by his vizier Safiy ad-Deen 'Abdullâh ibn Shâkir (d. 630 AH/1232 CE), which he built on the site of the house of the Fatimid vizier Ya'qoob ibn Kallis; Ibn Shâkir was a scholar who followed the madh-hab of Imam Mâlik.[113]

Dâr al-Ḥadeeth al-Kamâliyah

Al-Mâlik al-Kâmil ibn al-'Âdil was very fond of listening to Hadith narrations, and had a great deal of respect for the Sunnah and its scholars, and he was eager to spread this knowledge. So he established the first school in Cairo for the teaching of the Hadith, which was al-Madrasah al-Kâmiliyah, in 622 AH/1225 CE.[114] He devoted it to those who studied Hadith, then to the Shâfi'i scholars. He appointed al-Ḥâfidh 'Umar ibn Ḥasan al-Andalusi, who was

known as Ibn Dihyah (d. 633 AH/1235 CE) in charge of it; he had deep knowledge of the Hadith and was devoted to this subject, and al-Malik al-Kâmil had been raised by him.[115]

Al-Madrasah aṣ-Ṣâliḥiyah

This school was built by aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Najm ad-Deen Ayub ibn al-Kâmil on the site of the eastern Fatimid palace. He started to build it in 639 AH/1241 CE, basing the idea of this school on al-Madrasah al-Mustansiriyah, which was devoted as an endowment to all four madh-habs, and in which regular lessons were given in these madh-habs, in 641 AH/1243 CE. Al-Maqreezi says concerning him: He was the first one to allocate space for all four madh-habs in one place.[116] The importance of this school was that it gave the Hanbalis the opportunity to contribute their efforts to the Sunni revival movement in Egypt, because until the establishment of this school they had been the only Sunni group for whom the early Ayubids did not pay any attention to founding a school. Perhaps the reason why no attention was paid to them was that they were very few and rare; this is supported by what as-Suyooti said concerning them when he was discussing the (Ḥanbali) scholars in Egypt. He said: There are very few of them in Egypt, and I have not heard anything about them except in the seventh century (AH) and after. He explained the reason for that by saying:

> The madh-hab of Ahmad did not appear outside Iraq until the fourth century, in which the 'Ubaydis took control of Egypt and destroyed the imams of the three madh-habs which were present there, by killing, banishing and expelling, and they established the heretical Shiite madh-hab. Then when their state fell, the scholars of all the madh-habs began to return there.[117]

The efforts of the Ayubids in establishing schools were not limited to Cairo only; they extended this to other cities in Egypt as well. In Fayum, Ṭaqi ad-Deen 'Umar founded two schools, one for the Shâfi'is and another for the Mâlikis.[118] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen founded a school for the Shâfi'is in Alexandria in 577 AH/1181 CE.[119] The many endowments and the facilities available to the teachers and students in these schools were among the important means which played a role in attracting scholars and seekers of knowledge to Egypt. It was traditional, when a school was founded, for an endowment to be established to guarantee the continuation of academic life therein. Ibn Jubayr said:

> One of the sources of pride for this city (Alexandria) under the rule of its sultan was the schools and inns[120] which were established there for seekers of knowledge and worshippers who came from distant lands, where each one of them could find accommodation and a teacher who could teach him the branches of knowledge that he wanted to know, as well as a stipend to take care of him. The sultan's care for these people who came unexpectedly even went so far as to build baths where they could bathe, and setting up a hospital to treat those of them who fell sick, where doctors were appointed to check on them.[121]

Ibn Jubayr also made reference to the large numbers of mosques in Alexandria, where there might be four or five mosques in a single place, or there might be combined mosques (formed of a mosque and a school), all of them with regular imams appointed by the sultan. Some were paid five Egyptian dinars per month and some were paid more or less than that. This was one of the great deeds of the Sultan.[122] This brilliant picture which Ibn Jubayr gives of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's efforts in Alexandria is indicative of his great efforts in this field in the rest of the country too, because Alexandria had

remained a bastion of Ahl as-Sunnah during the Fatimid period, at the end of which it had two Sunni schools, one of the Mâlikis, which was Madrasat al-Ḥâfiz ibn 'Awf az-Zuhri, and the other for the Shâfi'is, namely Madrasat al-Ḥâfidh as-Salafi. These two schools were able to play a major role in preserving the Sunni legacy in Fatimid Egypt. Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil mentioned this fact in one of the letters that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sent to Noor ad-Deen after he discovered one of the Fatimid preachers in Alexandria. He said: What may please your highness is that the people of Alexandria are followers of the Sunni madh-hab.[123] If Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen set up so many endowments in Alexandria, which had preserved its Sunni identity, then undoubtedly the endowments that he set up in other regions, where the Fatimid message had been more popular, were more numerous and greater. This is indicated by the salary that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen decreed for Najm ad-Deen al-Khabooshâni, the teacher of the aṣ-Ṣalâḥiyah school. He allocated to him a stipend of forty dinars per month for teaching, ten dinars for supervising the endowments of the school, sixty pounds of bread every day, and two buckets of Nile water.[124] Ibn Jubayr completed the picture for us when he listed Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's efforts in Cairo which were aimed at making it easy for seekers of knowledge to find a place there. He said:

> It is amazing that al-Qarrâfah is all built mosques and frequented shrines, to which strangers, scholars, righteous people and the poor come, and there are regular stipends for each place, coming from the Sultan every month. The same is true of the schools in Egypt and Cairo. We calculated that the spending on all of that adds up to two thousand Egyptian dinars each month.[125]

From this it is clear that whilst Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was following the progress of the Sunni revival in Egypt, he did not stop at founding schools; rather he was also keen to attract Sunni scholars to Egypt

from all parts of the Muslim world, so that they could contribute their efforts to this intellectual revival, after the Fatimids had done their utmost to put an end to the Sunni scholars in Egypt. We have seen above what as-Suyooti recorded of their wiping out all the imams of the three madh-habs in the country, by killing, banishing and exiling. After their state fell, scholars of all the Sunni madh-habs came back to Egypt, and the efforts of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen were the greatest encouragement for this migration of Sunni scholars to Egypt. Just as Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was keen to attract the scholars to Egypt, he also paid attention to attracting the Sufis, so he established for them the first Sufi khanqah in Egypt, which was devoted especially to poor Sufis who came from all over the world, and he set up many endowments for them, and appointed a shaykh to run their affairs, who was known as *Shaykh al-Mashâyikh*. Al-Maqreezi states that the Sufis who lived there were known for their knowledge and piety, and that the number of its inhabitants was three hundred. The sultan provided bread, meat and sweets for them every day, and allocated forty dirhams every year for clothing, and he built a bath house nearby for them. If any of them wanted to travel, he gave him some money to help him reach his destination.[126]

In my opinion, this extra attention that was given to the Sufis served a particular purpose which was connected to the Sunni revival movement. Although moderate Sufism was a trend that was respected by rulers and the general populace at that time, paying particular attention to it to this extent in Egypt was done deliberately, with the aim of achieving a specific goal. The reason for this may be that the Fatimids in Egypt had been unable, despite their various methods, to infiltrate the beliefs of most Egyptians, but they had easily managed to influence their emotions. Expressions of grief and weeping for al-Ḥusayn, celebrating the birthdays of the Prophet's family, and the great deal of attention that the Fatimids had shown to these and other occasions, had all left a mark of the emotions of the

Egyptian people, and there is still some trace of these elements today. When Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sought to attract Sunni scholars to Egypt from all places, to contribute their knowledge and ideas to the Sunni revival movement, there was another aspect which also needed to be fulfilled and be directed away from the direction that the Fatimids had taken; this was the emotional aspect which the Fatimids had been able to control easily. The Sufis were among the groups who were able to satisfy this aspect at that time, with their easy going nature and lack of interest in worldly gains, and their ability to address people's emotions by means of exhortation, remembrance and so on. Indeed the Sufis during the Ayubid era succeeded in attracting people's attention to them and their rituals. Al-Maqreezi tells us that people used to come from all over Egypt to Cairo to watch the Sufis of the khanqah of Sa'eed as-Su'adâ' when they went to the mosque of al-Ḥâkim to offer Jumu'ah prayer, so that they might attain blessing and goodness by watching them.[127]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and his successors were able, through their efforts and by attracting Sunni scholars to Egypt, to bring it out of its intellectual isolation and re-establish its strong connection with the centres of Sunni culture in the Muslim world, such as Baghdad, Damascus and Cordoba, after the Fatimids had cut off all ties with these centres and Egypt had been left behind in the field of Sunni thought for more than two and a half centuries.[128]

Ayubid efforts in Syria and Mesopotamia

The great care that was shown to the Sunni revival movement in Egypt does not mean that the Ayubids neglected other lands belonging to them, which had not gone through the same circumstances as Egypt. Rather we find that they did not spare any effort in spreading Sunni culture in every land they went to, whether

it was the sultans, or emirs, both men and women, or their helpers such as viziers, commanders, scholars and scribes. Many of them were eager to build and establish schools in Syria and Mesopotamia. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen founded a school for the Shâfi'is in Jerusalem and he built a school for the Mâlikis in Damascus. When he moved to Egypt, he turned his house in Damascus into a khanqah for the Sufis. Ṭaqi ad-Deen 'Umar founded a school in Edessa, and al-'Azeez 'Uthmân ibn Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen completed a school in Damascus that his brother al-Afḍal had started to build, and which became known as al-Madrasah al-'Azeeziyah. Al-Mu'adh-dham 'Eesâ ibn al-'Âdil founded a school for the Hanafis in Damascus which was known as al-Mu'adh-dhamiyah.[129] Sayf al-Islam, the brother of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, established a school for the Hanbalis in Damascus.[130] Al-Ashraf Moosâ ibn al-'Âdil established Dâr al-Hadith al-Ashrafiyah in the same city.[131] Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil established Dâr al-Hadith al-Fâḍiliyah near the Umayyad Mosque.[132] Sitt ash-Shâm, the sister of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, built a school for the Shâfi'is in Damascus.[133] Her sister Rabee'ah Khatoon also built a school for the Hanbalis in Damascus.[134] And there were many other schools which proliferated and spread to such an extent that 'Izz ad-Deen ibn Shaddâd listed in Damascus alone ninety-two schools, covering all four madh-habs, in addition to other places that were involved in teaching and studying, such as the Umayyad Mosque.[135] Ibn Jubayr also narrated an image of academic life in Damascus, especially inside its mosques and shrines, when he visited the city in 580 AH/1184 CE. He wrote of the Umayyad Mosque:

> In it there are teaching circles for students, and the teachers receive an ample income. The Mâlikis have a corner on the western side where the Maghrebi students gather, and they have a certain income. The facilities that the noble mosque offers to strangers and students are plentiful and ample.[136]

He wrote of its shrines:

> For each of these shrines there are specific endowments consisting of gardens and land; almost the entire city is endowments. For every newly-built mosque, school or khanqah, the sultan allocates an endowment to sponsor them and their inhabitants. Among the women there are some of high status who order the building of a mosque, place of devotion or school, spending large amounts of wealth thereon, and setting up endowments from their wealth. Among the emirs are some who do the same thing, and they show a great deal of praiseworthy eagerness in following this blessed path.[137]

Aleppo was the recipient of a great deal of effort on the part of the Ayubids and people connected to them. Adh-Dhâhir Ghazi ibn Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen built a school there for both the Shâfi'is and the Hanafis, and he appointed in charge of teaching al-Qâḍi Bahâ' ad-Deen ibn Shaddâd, whom adh-Dhâhir also appointed to be in charge of endowments throughout Aleppo.[138] Ibn Shaddâd built al-Madrasat aṣ-Ṣâḥibiyah for the Shâfi'is, and next to it he established Dâr al-Hadith which remained a focal point for the Hadith scholars who dwelt there, studied, listened to lessons and wrote down Hadith until the Tatar catastrophe. He established as an endowment for it one of the villages of Aleppo, and near this school he also built a house for the Sufis.[139]

Throughout the Ayubid period, Aleppo remained a beacon of knowledge, to which students came from all over, by the grace of Allah and due to the intellectual efforts led by Ibn Shaddâd, who paid attention to running its affairs and gathering the scholars there. During his time many schools flourished, to which scholars came from various lands, and a great deal of attention was paid to seeking knowledge and benefitting from it. Ibn Khallikân states that he and

his brother joined the school that was founded by Ibn Shaddâd, who taught there himself and arranged for four prominent scholars to assist him. Ibn Khallikân also states that the scholars in Aleppo at the time of Ibn Shaddâd were highly respected and well cared for, especially the scholars of his school, who attended the Sultan's gatherings and broke their fast at his table in Ramadan. After Jumu'ah prayer, the qâḍi gave a lesson in Hadith to the worshippers.[140] Ibn Wâṣil states that he went to Aleppo at the end of 627 AH/1230 CE to study fiqh, the sources of Islamic jurisprudence, grammar and Arabic language, and to seek blessing by meeting Ibn Shaddâd, and he stayed in al-Madrasah aṣ-Ṣâḥibiyah.[141]

Elements of Sunni education during the Ayubid period

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and the sultans who came after him paid a great deal of attention to strengthening the Sunni madh-hab in the lands they ruled, devoting intense and comprehensive attention to this matter in the cities that were under their control, such as Cairo, Alexandria, Damascus, Aleppo and others. Among the most important elements of Sunni education to which the Ayubids paid attention were the following:

The Noble Qur'an

The Ayubids paid attention to teaching the Qur'an to children and making them memorize it in the lands that belonged to them. Ibn Jubayr says: Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen ordered that many places be built in Egypt, and he appointed therein teachers to teach the Noble Qur'an to the children of the poor, especially orphans, and gave them a sufficient salary.[142]

Al-Qâḍi Bahâ' ad-Deen ibn Shaddâd depicts the attention that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen gave to the Qur'an, telling us that one day he passed by a young child who was reciting Qur'an, and he liked his recitation, so he drew him close to him and gave him a share of his own food, and gave part of a farm as an endowment to him and his father. He would stipulate that the imam who led him in prayer should have knowledge of the Qur'anic sciences, and should have memorized it well.[143] We have already seen that besides his school in Cairo, al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil established a school which he set up as a endowment for teaching the Noble Qur'an to orphans, and he allocated one of the rooms of this school for teaching Qur'an and the different recitations thereof. When Ibn Jubayr visited Damascus he found that the Umayyad mosque was never devoid of Qur'anic recitation, morning or evening. These reciters were given a daily stipend on which more than five hundred people lived. When the morning reading ended, a boy would sit before each reader and he would teach him the Noble Qur'an. These boys were also given a stipend, except the sons of the rich, whose fathers refrained from accepting it.[144] Ibn Jubayr also saw another place in Damascus where the Qur'an was taught to children, for which a large endowment had been set up, from which the workers took what was sufficient for the boys' needs, and spent on their clothing and so on.[145] Knowledge of the different recitations was also taught in Dâr al-Hadith al-Ashrafiyah in Damascus,[146] and al-Madrasah al-Qâhiriyah in Aleppo.[147]

Hadith

The Ayubids took a great interest in the Hadith of the Prophet (ﷺ). This was a response to two urgent needs faced by Muslim society in both Egypt and Syria, the first of which was generally prevalent and the second was specific to certain areas. With regard to the general, prevalent need, that was due to the fact that the Muslims

were facing an enemy which was lying in wait and tampering with their holy places; their concern to incite the believers to fight them required paying a great deal of attention to the Hadith of the Prophet (ﷺ), especially those hadiths which have to do with this topic. Hence we find that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was passionate about the hadiths of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ); he would recite and listen to the Hadith, and he made arrangements to listen to it and encouraged people to write books on this matter. Al-'Imâd al-Isfahâni states that on many occasions during his visit to Alexandria in 572 AH/1176 CE, he went with him to visit al-Ḥâfidh as-Salafi, to hear hadith from him.[148] He and his children also listened to the *Muwaṭṭa'* by Mâlik from the faqeeh of Alexandria, Ibn 'Awf az-Zuhri, in 577 AH/1181 CE.[149] Bahâ' ad-Deen ibn Shaddâd describes Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen as being very keen to listen to Hadith; he would go and visit scholars of Hadith if they were the type who refrained from attending rulers' gatherings. Ibn Shaddâd went on to say:

> He also loved to read the Hadith for himself, and he would summon me when he was alone and bring some books of Hadith and start reading them.[150] Anyone anxious to ingratiate himself with the Sultan had only to encourage him in his passion for jihad and to narrate to him reports connected with it. Therefore a number of treatises upon this subject were written for him, and I myself wrote a book, at his request, on jihad and the rules and precepts to be observed therein. I incorporated in this work all the verses of the Qur'an which speak of this subject, all the Hadiths which refer to it. His highness valued this treatise so greatly that he taught it in its entirety to his son, al-Malik al-Afḍal.[151]

This interest in Hadith was not unique to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, rather many of the Ayubid emirs were keen to listen to Hadith and narrate it, including Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar, who heard Hadith from as-Salafi in Alexandria,[152] and al-Malik al-Kâmil who followed the example of

Noor ad-Deen and established the first Dâr al-Hadith in Egypt and whom as-Suyooti described as one who respected the Sunnah and its scholars; he also studied with as-Salafi and was granted a licence to teach (ijâzah) by him.[153] Sibt ibn al-Jawzi described him as speaking about *Ṣaḥeeḥ Muslim* in glowing terms.[154] Al-Ashraf ibn al-'Âdil listened to *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Bukhari* in Dâr al-Hadith al-Ashrafiyah which he founded in Damascus.[155]

These efforts which were undertaken by the Ayubids in support of the Hadith were a response to the general need that had to do with the requirements of jihad for the sake of Allah and encouraging it, and raising Muslim potentials by educating them and teaching them important elements of the Sunni madh-hab. As for the specific need which dictated paying extra attention to the matter of Hadith, that had to do with the societies where Shiite influence had prevailed for some time. The Shiites do not regard any hadith as authentic except those that were narrated by the Prophet's family only, and that which they attribute to the Prophet's family is not free of fabrications and lies, such as the reports of Zurârah, Jâbir al-Ja'fi and other prevaricators. They reject everything else and use it as a means to condemn the narrators.[156] Hence the attention paid to the Hadith in Egypt brought back to life this aspect of the Sunni madh-hab.[157]

The basic principles of Sunni belief ('aqeedah)

The Ayubids paid attention to protecting and preserving the basic principles of belief according to the madh-hab of Imam al-Ash'ari, who (may Allah have mercy on him) carried the banner of knowledge in all fields and is regarded as one of the scholars who combined different types of knowledge and science.[158] Adh-Dhahabi remarked concerning him:

> The prominent scholar, imam of the theologists, Abul-Ḥasan...He was amazing in his intelligence and deep understanding. After he had become prominent in Mu'tazilite ideology, he disliked it and disavowed it; he ascended the minbar before the people and repented to Allah from it. Then he began to refute the Mu'tazilah and expose their faults.[159]

Adh-Dhahabi also noted:

> Abul-Ḥasan was extremely intelligent and had deep knowledge. He had many good points and wrote many books, which testify to his vast knowledge.[160]

According to adh-Dhahabi:

> I have seen four books by Abul-Ḥasan about Uṣool, in which he mentions the basic principles of the *salaf* (pious Muslims of earlier generations) concerning the divine attributes. He said in them (these books): This matter should be left alone and accepted at face value. He also said: This is my view and what I believe; it is not to be interpreted in any way other than it appears to be.[161]

Al-Qâḍi 'Iyâd commented concerning him:

> He wrote books for Ahl as-Sunnah and established proof to support the Sunnah and refute the arguments of the innovators who denied the attributes of Allah, denied that He will be seen, denied the eternal nature of His words and power, and rejected reports about the bridge (over hell that leads to paradise), the balance, intercession, the cistern and the torment of the grave, which were denied by the Mu'tazilites, and other issues in which Ahl as-Sunnah wal-Hadith believe. He established clear proof concerning these issues from the Qur'an and Sunnah and clear, rational evidence, refuting the specious arguments of the innovators and the Râfiḍi heretics who came after them. He

> wrote detailed books concerning that by means of which Allah benefited the Ummah.[162]

Ibn 'Asâkir wrote a book specifically to defend him, in which he praised him a great deal, described him as one who came to renew (the faith) and quoted reports which praise his people and his family.[163] As-Subki did likewise in *Tabaqât ash-Shâfi'i Shâfi'iyah* in which he said, among other things:

> Our shaykh and guide to Allah, Shaykh Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari al-Baṣri, shaykh of the path of Ahl as-Sunnah wal-Jamâ'ah, imam of the mutakallimeen, supporter of the Sunnah of the leader of the Messengers, defender of the faith, who strove hard to preserve the beliefs of the Muslims, whose efforts will continue to have an impact upon people until the Day when people are resurrected to meet the Lord of the Worlds, the prominent imam, righteous and pious, who protected Islam from fabricated ideas, and supported Islam and caused it to prevail.[164]

And there were other scholars who praised what he did in support of the Sunnah and refuting the innovators, both Mu'tazilites and others.[165]

Stages that Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari went through

Abul-Ḥasan went through three ideological stages in his life:

The first stage

Almost all the sources for the biography of al-Ash'ari agree that he lived the first part of his life under Mu'tazilite tutelage, and he remained close to his Shaykh and mother's husband al-Jabâ'i until he reached the age of forty.[166]

The second stage

After he left the Mu'tazilites, he followed the path of 'Abdullâh ibn Sa'eed ibn Kilâb al-Baṣri[167] and began to refute the Mu'tazilites on the basis of the new precepts that he learned from 'Abdullâh ibn Kilâb.[168] Ibn Taymiyah (may Allah have mercy on him) wrote, "When Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari recanted Mu'tazilite beliefs, he followed the path of Abu Muhammad ibn Kilâb."[169] This stage is represented in his book *Al-Luma' fir-Radd 'alâ Ahl az-Zaygh wal-Bid'ah.*[170] Ibn Kilâb refuted the Mu'tazilites and Jahamites and those who followed them in a way that showed an inclination towards the madh-hab of Ahl as-Sunnah wal-Hadith. But because of his long arguments with them, refutation of them and debates with them using standard methods, he accepted some principles laid down by them. Hence innovation entered his method.[171] Ibn Kilâb had invented a new madh-hab, in which some things agreed with the salaf and some things agreed with the Mu'tazilites and Jahamites.[172] Concerning this, Ibn Taymiyah (may Allah have mercy on him) said:

> Before Abu Muhammad ibn Kilâb, the people were of two types: Ahl as-Sunnah wal-Jamâ'ah affirmed all the attributes and deeds of Allah that He wills and is able to do, but the Jahamites, Mu'tazilites and others denied both. Ibn Kilâb affirmed all the attributes that have to do with His Essence, but he denied that the deeds which have to do with His will and power are part of His Essence.[173]

Abul-'Abbâs al-Qalânisi and Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari agreed with him on that.[174] This principle which was introduced by Ibn Kilâb motivated Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal and other imams of the salaf to warn people against him and his followers, the Kilâbiyah.[175] This way which was introduced by Ibn Kilâb was without precedent. Al-Ash'ari agreed with it and refuted thereby the Jahamites and Mu'tazilites.[176]

The third stage

For a while, Abul-Ḥasan followed the way of Ibn Kilâb, refuting the Mu'tazilites and others by means of his beliefs at that time. But Allah blessed him with the truth, by bringing him back completely to the way of Ahl as-Sunnah wal-Jamâ'ah. He began to adhere to their path and follow their method. This is what he wanted to meet Allah with; he disavowed the madh-habs that he had previously followed and called people to the way of the salaf, declaring himself to be a follower of Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal (may Allah have mercy on him). Because of the importance of this stage with regard to belief, we will discuss it in more detail, dividing it into three phases[177]:

The first phase: Comments of the scholars

Many scholars and imams testified that al-Ash'ari had returned completely to the madh-hab of the righteous salaf, and these imams only gave this testimony after studying his life and finding out what he used to follow and what he finally settled upon. Among these scholars were the following[178]:

- Shaykh al-Islam Ibn Taymiyah[179]
- His student al-Ḥâfidh Ibn al-Qayyim[180]
- Al-Ḥâfidh adh-Dhahabi[181]
- Al-Ḥâfidh Ibn Katheer, who said: They mentioned that Shaykh Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari went through three stages:
    - The first stage was when he was a Mu'tazilite, but he definitely recanted that.
    - The second stage, when he affirmed the seven rational attributes (life, knowledge, power, will, hearing, sight, speech), but he interpreted other attributes (the

countenance, two hands, foot, shin and so on) in a manner other than what they appear to mean.

- The third stage, when he affirmed all the divine attributes without asking how or likening them to anything else, following the example of the salaf. This was the method he followed in *Al-Ibânah*, which was his last book.[182]

- Shaykh Nu'âm al-Aloosi[183]
- Shaykh Abul-Ma'âli Maḥmood al-Aloosi[184]
- Al-'Allâmah Muḥibb ad-Deen al-Khaṭeeb who said, describing the stages that al-Ash'ari went through and his complete return to the madh-hab of the salaf:

Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari 'Ali ibn Ismâ'eel is one of the greatest imams of kalâm in Islam. He grew up as a Mu'tazilite and studied (that madh-hab) under al-Jabâ'i, then Allah wakened him in middle age, at the beginning of his maturity. He announced his rejection of Mu'tazilite misguidance and during this stage he was active in writing, debating and giving lessons refuting the Mu'tazilites, following a middle way between the path of philosophy and debating, and the path of the salaf. Then he purified his method and made it sincerely for the sake of Allah alone by coming back completely to the path of the salaf and affirming all the matters of the unseen that are stated in the texts and which Allah enjoins His slaves to believe in sincerely. He wrote about that in his last books, of which *al-Ibânah* is in circulation. His biographers stated that this was his last book and this is what he wanted to meet Allah with; everything contrary to that which is attributed to him or that the Ash'ariyah believe in was recanted by al-Ash'ari himself as he explained in *Al-Ibânah* and other books.[185]

The second phase: His meeting with al-Ḥâfidh Zakariyâ as-Sâji

After rejecting the Mu'tazilite school of thought and ridding himself of Ibn Kilâb's method, he turned to the imams of Ahl al-Hadith, who were known for their sound belief and clear methodology, in order to learn from them the views of the salaf and scholars of Hadith. Among the most famous of these was the prominent ḥafidh and Hadith scholar of Basrah, Zakariyâ as-Sâji.[186] Ibn Taymiyah said of al-Ash'ari:

> He learned Uṣool al-hadith from Zakariyâ as-Sâji in Basrah, then when he came to Baghdad he learned other things from the Hanbalis of Baghdad, and that was the last thing he did, as he and his companions stated in their books.[187]

Adh-Dhahabi said, in his biography of al-Ḥâfidh as-Sâji, "From him Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari al-Uṣooli learned the view of ahl al-hadith and the salaf."[188] Elsewhere he said of al-Sâji, "Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari learned from him the views of the salaf concerning the divine attributes, and Abul-Ḥasan based his argument on these views in many books."[189] Among those who affirmed that al-Ash'ari met the scholar of Hadith al-Ḥâfidh Zakariyâ as-Sâji, and regarded it as an important turning point in the life of al-Ash'ari[190], were Ibn al-Qayyim[191], Ibn Katheer[192], and others.

The third phase: writing the book Al-Ibânah — and affirmation of the attribution of this book to him

The last book that al-Ash'ari (may Allah have mercy on him) wrote was *Al-Ibânah 'an Uṣool ad-Diyânah*. In this book he stated that he was a follower of Imam Ahmad (may Allah have mercy on him), and that he adhered to the beliefs ('aqeedah) of the righteous salaf and that he was a follower of the imams of Hadith. After that he mentioned the beliefs of the righteous salaf concerning matters of

religion. Many leading scholars, both in the past and more recently, have confirmed that this book was by al-Ash'ari[193]. The closest scholar to the time of al-Ash'ari was Ibn an-Nadeem (d. 385 AH), who mentioned the biography of al-Ash'ari in his book *Al-Fihrist*, along with a number of books written by him, including *At-Tabyeen 'an Uṣool ad-Deen*. After him came Ibn 'Asâkir, who supported al-Ash'ari and affirmed that he wrote *Al-Ibânah*; he quoted a great deal from it in his book *At-Tabyeen*, as praise for the soundness of al-Ash'ari's beliefs. Ibn 'Asâkir said of al-Ash'ari: His books are well known to the scholars, and it is proven by the scholars that his books are sound and good. The one who studies his book which is called *Al-Ibânah* will realize the high position that he attained in knowledge and piety.[194] Then Ibn Darbâs (d. 659 AH) wrote a book defending al-Ash'ari and affirming that he was the author of *Al-Ibânah*. He said:

> You should realize, my brother — may Allah guide us and you to the sound religion and guide us all to the straight path — that the book *Al-Ibânah 'an Uṣool ad-Diyânah*, which was written by Imam Abul-Ḥasan 'Ali ibn Ismâ'eel al-Ash'ari, is the book which explains what he settled upon with regard to his beliefs, and what he regarded as true religion, after he recanted Mu'tazilite beliefs by the grace of Allah. Everything that is now attributed to him that runs contrary to what is mentioned in this book was recanted by him and he disavowed himself of it before Allah. He narrated and affirmed the beliefs of the Companions and Tâbi'een and the imams of Hadith in the past, and the views of Ahmad ibn Hanbal (may Allah be pleased with them all). These beliefs are what is indicated by the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Messenger. Can it be said that he went back to anything else? What could he recant? Could he recant the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of the Prophet of Allah, and follow a way contrary to that of the Prophet's Companions, Tâbi'een and imams of Hadith in the

past, when he realized that this was their view and he narrated them from them? This is something that it is not appropriate to attribute to ordinary Muslims, so how can it be attributed to imams? This book was mentioned and regarded as authentic, and its attribution to Imam Abul-Ḥasan (may Allah have mercy on him) was confirmed by a number of prominent imams, scholars of jurisprudence, leading scholars of Qur'an and Hadith, and others, who praised him for what he said in it and declared him innocent of all innovations that were attributed to him.[195]

Then he mentioned a number of these imams who confirmed the attribution of *Al-Ibânah* to al-Ash'ari, among whom were the following:

- Imam al-Qurrâ' Abu 'Ali al-Ḥasan ibn 'Ali ibn Ibrâheem al-Fâsi (d. 446 AH)
- Al-Ḥâfidh Abu 'Uthmân as-Sâbooni (d. 449)
- Al-Faqeeh al-Ḥâfidh Abu Bakr al-Bayhaqi (d. 458 AH)
- Al-Imam al-Faqeeh Abul-Fatḥ Naṣr al-Maqdisi (d. 490 AH)
- Al-Faqeeh Abul-Ma'âli Mujalli, the author of *adh-Dhakhâ'ir fil-Fiqh* (d. 550 AH)

There are many scholars who confirmed the attribution of *Al-Ibânah* to al-Ash'ari, apart from those who were mentioned by Ibn Darbâs. They include the following:

- Imam Ibn Taymiyah (may Allah have mercy on him)
- Al-Ḥâfidh adh-Dhahabi (d. 748 AH), who said: The book *Al-Ibânah* is one of the most famous works of Abul-Ḥasan. Al-Ḥâfidh Ibn 'Asâkir relied on it, and Imam Muḥiy ad-Deen al-Nawawi copied it in his own hand.[196]

- Imam Ibn al-Qayyim (d. 571 AH)[197]
- Al-Ḥâfidh Ibn Katheer (d. 774 AH)
- Al-'Allâmah Ibn Farhoon al-Maliki (d. 799 AH).[198]

There are numerous imams and scholars who affirmed that *Al-Ibânah* was written by al-Ash'ari, and that it was the last book that he wrote.[199]

The historians have mentioned several reasons why Abul-Ḥasan came back to the madh-hab of Ahl as-Sunnah and gave up following the Mu'tazilites, the most important of which is the mercy and guidance of Allah.

The secret behind al-Ash'ari's historical greatness

After this great change, Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari set to work and began calling people to the beliefs of Ahl as-Sunnah, defending them zealously and faithfully, and refuting the Mu'tazilites, whom he would seek out in their gatherings and centres and try to convince them of the Sunni beliefs and the way of the salaf of which he had recently become convinced. He was more active in doing this than he had been in any other effort before that. He would go to them himself and debate with them. Someone spoke to him concerning that and said to him, "How can you mix with the followers of innovation and seek them out yourself, when you have been ordered to shun them?" He said, "They are people of prominent status; some of them are governors and judges, and because of their high standing they would not come to me. If they do not come to me and I do not go to them, how can the truth be made clear and how can they know that the Ahl as-Sunnah have someone who supports them with proof?"[200] These great efforts and this persistence in supporting the madh-hab of Ahl as-Sunnah are deserving of praise and appreciation. Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari was on a higher intellectual level than his contemporaries and

peers. He was a creative genius in the field of philosophy; he refuted the arguments and beliefs of the Mu'tazilites powerfully and with the greatest of ease and confidence, as a great teacher dispels his students' confusion and solves their problems. Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari was a leading figure, diligent scholar and one of the founders of the field of kalâm. Anyone who came after him submitted to his genius, profound thoughts, subtle thinking and sound ideas.[201]

Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari explains the beliefs to which he adheres

He stated:

> What we say and the belief to which we subscribe is adherence to the Book of our Lord and the Sunnah of our Prophet (ﷺ), and what was narrated from the Companions and Tâbi'een, and the imams of Hadith. We cling to it and follow what Abu 'Abdullâh Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Hanbal — may Allah brighten his face, elevate his status and make abundant his reward — says, and whatever contradicts his views we oppose, because he is the prominent imam and perfect leader through whom Allah made the truth clear and erased misguidance, explained the way and suppressed the innovations of the innovators, the misguidance of the misguided and the doubts of the doubters. May the mercy of Allah be upon him; what a prominent leader.[202]

The service rendered by al-Ash'ari was not limited to only supporting the beliefs of Ahl as-Sunnah and the salaf in general, as the Hanbalis and scholars of Hadith were putting their efforts into that and were not falling short; rather his genius was manifested in the fact that he was establishing rational and philosophical proof and evidence to support these beliefs. He debated with the Mu'tazilites and scholars of philosophy with regard to each item of belief, all in a

language that they understood and a style with which they were familiar. Thus he proved that this religion and its clear beliefs are supported by reason, and that sound reason supports the sound religion, and there is no conflict between them.[203]

The source of 'aqeedah according to Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari is as follows: al-Ash'ari believed that the source of 'aqeedah and issues having to do with divinity and metaphysical matters was the Qur'an and Sunnah, and what the Prophets brought, not mere reason, analogy and Greek metaphysics. But he did not think it was right to keep quiet and turn away from issues that had developed with the passage of time and with this Ummah's mixing with other, foreign nations, religions and philosophies, which led to the formation of other groups and sects on that basis. He thought that keeping quiet about these issues was harmful to Islam and would cause a loss of respect for the Sunnah method, and make people think that the Sunni group was weak both intellectually and rationally. He was concerned that people would think that the scholars and their representatives were incapable of confronting these trends and resisting these assaults. Misguided groups might take this opportunity to influence Ahl as-Sunnah and tamper with sound 'aqeedah, to spread their poison and doubts among them, and to attract their smart and educated youth to join them. Al-Ash'ari believed that the source of 'aqeedah was the revelation and the prophethood of Muhammad (ﷺ), and the way to learn it was the Qur'an and the Sunnah and that which had been proven from the Companions (may Allah be pleased with them). This is where he parted ways with the Mu'tazilites; he took the opposite approach to that of the Mu'tazilites, yet he sincerely believed that defending this sound 'aqeedah and instilling it in the hearts of the new Muslim generation required speaking the academic language that was prevalent at that time, using academic terminology and debating with opponents on the basis of rational principles. He did not only think that it was justifiable, rather he regarded it as the

best kind of jihad and the best means of drawing close to Allah at that time. This was the main difference between him and some of the Hanbalis and scholars of Hadith who regarded it as sinful and refused to go down to that level.[204]

Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari's written works

Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari did not stop at engaging in debates and discussions, rather he left behind many books in which he defended the Sunnah and explained proper beliefs. He wrote a tafseer (commentary) of the Qur'an, which was said to contain at least thirty volumes. Some writers said that he wrote as many as three hundred books,[205] most of which dealt with refutation of the Mu'tazilites, and some of which dealt with refutation of other groups and sects, such as his book *Al-Fuṣool*, which was a refutation of the philosophers, agnostics, metaphysicists, Brahmins, Jews, Christians and Magians. It is a large book composed of twelve volumes. Ibn Khallikân lists among his books *Al-Lam'*, *Eedâh al-Burhân*, *At-Tabyeen 'an Uṣool ad-Deen* and *Ash-Sharḥ wat-Tafṣeel fir-Radd 'alâ Ahl al-Ifk wat-Tadleel*. In addition to books on rational issues and philosophy, he wrote books on other branches of sharia knowledge, such as *qiyâs*,[206] *ijtihâd* and *Khabr al-Wâḥid*, and he wrote a book refuting the argument of Ibn al-Rawandi who rejected the idea of successive narration.[207] In his book *Al-'Umad*, he mentioned the books that he had completed in 320 AH, four years before he died: there were sixty-eight books, many of which were composed of ten or more volumes. At the end of his life he wrote many books. His book *Maqâlât al-Islâmiyeen* indicates that he was not only a philosopher, but also an honest historian of comparative religion. He is acknowledged by the orientalists for his precision, honesty and efforts to tell the truth.[208] His books on sects and other religions are indicative of his honesty and precision in quoting others.[209]

His striving hard in worship

Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari was not only a man of knowledge, reason and research, rather — in addition to reaching the level of being an imam and *mujtahid*[210] in the fields of knowledge and reason — he was also a man who strove hard in worship, who had many good characteristics and virtues. This is what distinguished the earlier scholars, whose preoccupation with knowledge did not prevent them from striving hard in worship and being eager to do acts of obedience to Allah. They combined study, teaching, worship and asceticism. Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-Faqeeh related:

> I served Imam Abul-Ḥasan for many years and lived with him until his death in Baghdad; I have never seen anyone more pious than him, more earnest in lowering the gaze. I have never seen a shaykh who was more modest with regard to worldly matters, or more active with regard to matters of the Hereafter.[211]

Abul-Husayn as-Saroori tells of his worship at night and his devotion to worship, which is indicative of his eagerness and strength in worship.[212] Ibn Khallikân commented:

> His income was the produce of a farm which had been given as an endowment by Bilâl ibn Abi Burdah ibn Abi Moosâ to his descendents. His daily expenditure was seventeen dirhams, as was stated by al-Khaṭeeb.[213]

The 'aqeedah of Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari, which he died believing

Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari stated:

This is a list of the beliefs to which the followers of the Hadith and the Sunnah adhere:

1- Belief in Allah, His angels and His Messengers, and that Muhammad is His slave and Messenger.

2- That Paradise is true and Hell is true, that the Hour will undoubtedly come, and that Allah will resurrect those who are in the graves.

3- Allah is above His Throne as He says: ﴾The Most Merciful rose over the Throne.﴿ *(Qur'an 20: 5)*

4- He has two hands, but we do not discuss how, as He says: ﴾I have created with Both My Hands.﴿ *(Qur'an 38: 75)*

5- He has two eyes, but we do not discuss how, as He says: ﴾Sailing under Our Eyes.﴿ *(Qur'an 54: 14)*

6- He has a Face, as He says: ﴾And there will remain the Face of your Lord, Owner of Majesty and Honour.﴿ *(Qur'an 55: 27)*

7- The names of Allah cannot be said to be something other than Allah, as the Mu'tazilites and Khawârij say.

8- They affirmed that Allah is All-Knowing, as He says: ﴾He has sent it down with His Knowledge.﴿ *(Qur'an 4: 166)* and: ﴾And no female conceives or gives birth except with His Knowledge.﴿ *(Qur'an 35: 11)*

9- They affirm that Allah can hear and see, and they do not deny that as the Mu'tazilites do.

10- They affirm that Allah has power or strength, as He says: ﴾Did they not consider that Allah Who created them was greater than them in strength?﴿ *(Qur'an 41: 15)*

11- They say that nothing happens on earth, good or evil, except what Allah wills.

12- Things happen by the will of Allah, as He says: ﴾And you do not will except that Allah wills.﴿ *(Qur'an 81: 29)* And as the

Muslims say: What Allah wills happens and what He does not will does not happen.

13- They say that no one can do anything that Allah knows he is not going to do.

14- They affirm that there is no creator except Allah, and that people's bad deeds are created by Allah (ﷻ) and that people's actions are created by Allah, and that people are not able to create anything.

15- They say that the Qur'an is the word of Allah and is not created.

16- Whoever suggests that the uttered words of the Qur'an are created is an innovator in their view. It should not be said that the uttered words of the Qur'an are created or not created.

17- They believe that Allah will be seen in a literal sense on the Day of Resurrection as the moon is seen on the night when it is full. The believers will see Him but the disbelievers will not see Him because they will be veiled from seeing Him. Allah says: ﴿No! Indeed, they [evil doers] will be veiled from seeing their Lord that Day.﴾ *(Qur'an 83: 15)*. Moses (ﷺ) asked Allah to let him see Him in this world, and Allah appeared to the mountain and made it collapse to dust *(Qur'an 7: 143)*, so He showed him that he could not see Him in this world but he will see Him in the Hereafter.

18- They do not regard any Muslim as a disbeliever if he commits sin such as fornication, stealing and other major sins; they are believers even though they have committed major sins.

19- In their view, faith means believing in Allah, His angels, His Books, His Messengers, the divine decree both good and bad, sweet and bitter, and that what has missed them would never

have befallen them and what has befallen them would never have missed them.

20- Islam means bearing witness that there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah, according to what it says in the Hadith, and in their view Islam is something different from imân (faith, belief).

21- They affirm that Allah is the Controller of the hearts.

22- They affirm the intercession of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) and that it will be for those members of his Ummah who commit major sins; they affirm the torment of the grave, and that the cistern is true, the sirât is true and the Resurrection after death is true.

23- The Reckoning by Allah of His slaves is true and the standing before Allah (on the Day of Resurrection) is true.

24- They affirm that faith is both words and deeds; it may increase and decrease. They do not say that faith is created or not created.

25- They believe that the names of Allah are Allah.

26- They do not testify that anyone who commits a major sin will be in Hell, and they do not affirm that any individual among those who profess Islamic monotheism will be in Paradise. Rather Allah will put them wherever He wills. They believe that the matter is up to Allah: if He wills He will punish them and if He wills He will forgive them. They believe that Allah will bring some of those who profess tawḥeed out of Hell, according to what is mentioned in the reports from the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ).

27- They denounce arguments about religion and disputes about the divine decree, and what the argumentative debate about

with regard to religious matters. They accept the sound reports which were transmitted by trustworthy narrators going all the way back to the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ), and they do not ask how or why, because that is innovation.

28- They believe that Allah did not enjoin evil; rather He forbade it and enjoined good. He does not approve of evil even though He wills it.

29- They acknowledge the rights of those whom Allah chose to accompany His Prophet (ﷺ); they recognize their virtues and refrain from discussing the disputes that arose among them.

30- They give precedence to Abu Bakr, then 'Umar, then 'Uthmân, then 'Ali (may Allah be pleased with them all).

31- They affirm that they are the Rightly-Guided Caliphs and the best of all people after the Prophet (ﷺ).

32- They believe in the hadiths which came from the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) including: «Allah descends to the lowest heaven and says: Is there anyone who will ask forgiveness?» as the hadith came from the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ).

33- They adhere to the Qur'an and Sunnah as Allah says: ﴿And if you disagree over anything, refer it to Allah and His Messenger.﴾ *(Qur'an 4: 59)*

34- They believe in following the early generation of imams who did not introduce any innovation into their religion for which Allah did not give permission.

35- They affirm that Allah will come on the Day of Resurrection as He says: ﴿And your Lord comes, and the angels rank upon rank.﴾ *(Qur'an 89: 22)*

36- And that Allah draws near to His creation however He wills, as

He says: ﴾And We are closer to him than his jugular vein [by Our Knowledge].﴿ *(Qur'an 50: 16)*

37- They believe in offering Eid and congregational prayers behind any ruler, good or bad.

38- They affirm that wiping over the socks is Sunnah and is valid whether one is travelling or not.

39- They affirm that engaging in jihad against the polytheists is obligatory, from the time Allah sent His Prophet (ﷺ) until the last group fights the false Messiah and after that.

40- They believe that supplication should be said asking for the Muslim leaders to be guided aright, and that they should not rebel against them with the sword, and that they should not fight at times of *fitnah*.[214]

41- They believe that the Dajjâl will emerge and that 'Eesâ ibn Maryam (Jesus, son of Mary) will kill him.

42- They believe in Munkar and Nakeer,[215] and in the miraculous ascent [of Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ) to heaven], and in the visions seen in dreams.

43- And (they believe that) the benefit of supplication for deceased Muslims and charity given on their behalf after death will reach them.

44- They believe that there are practitioners of witchcraft in the world, and that the practitioner of witchcraft is a disbeliever as Allah says, and that magic or witchcraft exists in this world.

45- They believe in offering the funeral prayer for any Muslim who dies, whether he was righteous or otherwise, and that they may be inherited from.

46- They affirm that Paradise and Hell are created entities.

47- They affirm that everyone who dies, dies at his appointed time, and everyone who is killed, is killed at his appointed time.

48- They affirm that provision comes from Allah, Who gives provision to His slaves, whether it is halal or ḥarâm.

49- The devil whispers to people and instils doubt and confusion.

50- It may so happen that Allah chooses to single out some of the righteous for signs that appear at their hands.

51- The Sunnah does not abrogate the Qur'an.[216]

52- With regard to children who die, it is up to Allah: if He wills He will punish them and if He wills He do whatever He wants with them.

53- Allah knows what His slaves will do and has decreed that it will happen, and all things are in the hands of Allah.

54- They believe in patience in adhering to what Allah has enjoined and refraining from what He has forbidden; sincerity (towards Allah) in actions; sincerity towards the Muslims; worshipping Allah alongside those who worship Him; avoiding major sins, fornication, false speech, minor sins, pride, arrogance, looking down on people and self-admiration.

55- They believe in shunning everyone who promotes innovation.

56- They believe in occupying oneself with reading the Qur'an, studying reports of the Prophet (ﷺ), acquiring knowledge and studying fiqh with humility and a good attitude, doing favours, refraining from causing harm, refraining from backbiting, gossip and troublemaking, and checking on food and drink.

57- This is a summary of what they enjoin, do and believe. Everything that has been mentioned of their beliefs we believe and follow also, and we have no help but that of Allah; He is

sufficient for us and is the best disposer of affairs; His help we seek and in Him we put our trust and to Him is the final destiny.[217]

These are the beliefs of Imam al-Ash'ari that he settled upon and professed, and they are part of the legacy that he left behind after he died. They undoubtedly contributed to raising the Ummah's awareness and educating the Muslims in the basic principles of Ahl as-Sunnah wal-Jamâ'ah, whether in the Nizâmi schools at the time of the Seljuks or at the time of the Zangids, Ayubids, Mamelukes and Ottomans, until the present day. It is academically fair to say that the Ash'ari madh-hab did not settle on the beliefs with which Imam Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari died, rather there were further developments in the Ash'ari madh-hab, which developed various opinions on many issues. Among the most well known of those who differed from Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari on some issues were: Abu Bakr al-Bâqillâni, Ibn Foorak, 'Abd al-Qâhir al-Baghdâdi, al-Bayhaqi, al-Qushayri, al-Juwayni, al-Ghazâli and others, to varying degrees. Dr. 'Abdur-Raḥmân ibn Ṣâliḥ ibn Ṣâliḥ al-Maḥmood has studied these developments in some detail in his useful book *Mawqif Ibn Taymiyah min al-Ashâ'irah*.

His death

He died in 324 AH and was buried in Baghdad in Mashroo' az-Zawâyâ.[218] At his funeral, the words, "Today a supporter of the Sunnah has died," were called out.[219]

This is the Sunni belief that was followed by the Ayubid state. The Sunni scholars refuted the idea that the Prophet (ﷺ) mentioned 'Ali by name as his successor, as the Râfiḍi Shiites believe, on which basis their Imamate madh-hab is founded. They (the Sunni scholars) explained how flawed this idea is, on the grounds that Abu Bakr was elected and the Muslims swore allegiance to him on the day of as-

Saqeefah.[220] At the same time, Sunni preachers began to affirm the legitimacy of the caliphate of the Sunni Abbasids and their rule over all Muslim lands, highlighting the flaws in Bâṭini Ismaili thinking and what it contained of contradiction and deceit, and explaining the falseness of the Fatimids' claim of descent from 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭâlib (ﷺ). The Ayubids learned from the Seljuks and Zangids the means of spreading Sunni Islamic beliefs in Egypt and other parts of the Ayubid state. During the Ayubid period, Sunni Islamic beliefs and the means of propagating them, on one hand, and Sunni Shâfi'i fiqh, on the other, represented one of the foundations of the Sunni message that was propagated by the Ayubids after they put an end to the Ismaili Shiite madh-hab.[221]

Fiqh studies

The Ayubids paid a great deal of attention to this branch of Sunni education, through the many schools which they founded and established as endowments for the scholars of jurisprudence of particular madh-habs, or to be shared between more than one madh-hab, as in the case of al-Madrasah al-Fâḍiliyah, which was established as an endowment for the Shâfi'is and Mâlikis, al-Madrasah az-Zâhiriyah in Aleppo, which was founded as an endowment for the Shâfi'is and Ḥanafis, and al-Madrasah aṣ-Ṣâliḥiyah in Cairo which was established as an endowment by aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Najm ad-Deen Ayub for the four Sunni madh-habs. But the attention given by the Ayubids to the Shâfi'i schools was greater because the Shâfi'i madh-hab was the official madh-hab of the state, and it was the madh-hab followed by the judges. All the Ayubids followed this madh-hab and no one differed from that apart from al-Malik al-Mu'adh-dham 'Eesâ ibn al-'Âdil, who was a Ḥanafi and whose sons emulated him by following the same madh-hab. It may be added that those who held official positions in Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's

state were also Shâfi'is, for example al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil, al-'Imâd al-Isfahâni and Bahâ' ad-Deen ibn Shaddâd. This is supported by what we mentioned above, which is that although Noor ad-Deen was a Ḥanafi, most of his men were Shâfi'is, and many of them were graduates of the Nizâmi schools, such as al-Qâḍi Kamâl ash-Shahrazoori, Ibn Abi 'Aṣroon, and others.[222]

These are the basic elements of Sunni education on which academic institutions at the time of the Ayubids were based. The Ayubids paid attention to propagating and strengthening them, especially in Egypt, because of its historical background, as it had been the main stronghold of the Ismaili Shiite madh-hab. The elements of Sunni education were based on the Noble Qur'an, Hadiths of the Prophet (ﷺ), Sunni fiqh studies and the basic principles of belief (uṣool al-'aqeedah), then they expanded to include everything that could serve this cause, such as grammar, literature and Arabic language. Philosophical studies played no role in it; rather anyone who wanted to study this type of knowledge would do so with a sense of shame, because focusing on such matters was disdained in the academic Sunni environment, and those who studied it were not socially accepted; rather they were rejected in academic Sunni circles.[223] There are many such examples. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen despised philosophers, those who denied the divine attributes and the Dahriyah (an atheistic, materialistic group).[224] It seems that the enmity towards philosophy during this era was due to two things:

(i) This attitude was a reaction against the Shiite madh-hab which relied heavily on philosophy in the formation and propagation of its beliefs. Hence the Muslim scholars rejected it, because they believed that the Sunni madh-hab was clear and simple, and easy for people to understand without any need to seek the help of philosophy, as was the view of Ibn aṣ-Ṣalâḥ in his fatwas.[225]

(ii) Philosophy had lost its lustre and tumbled from its high position since Imam al-Ghazâli had launched his arrows against it in his book *Tahâfut al-Falâsifah* (The Incoherence of the Philosophers). The influence of al-Ghazâli was still strong in Sunni circles after his era.[226]

Ayubid revival of the Abbasid caliphate

At the end of the sixth century and beginning of the seventh century AH, the Ayubid state managed to revive the political influence of the Abbasid caliphate in most parts of the Islamic east, after they put an end to the Fatimid caliphate in Egypt in 567 AH/1171 CE. In 569 AH/1173 CE, they succeeded in conquering Yemen, which was regarded as the oldest and firmest stronghold of the Fatimid madh-hab. They managed to eradicate the Fatimid preacher in that land, 'Abd al-Nabi ibn Mahdi, and started giving sermons in Yemen in the name of the Abbasids. From Yemen they expanded their influence to the Two Holy Sanctuaries, where they ensured that sermons were given in the name of the caliph in Baghdad.[227] By these means, the Abbasid caliph fully regained spiritual authority and influence in the Muslim world, because he had now become the guardian of the Two Holy Sanctuaries, after the Fatimid caliphate had been the only guardians, excluding the Abbasids, for a lengthy period.[228] There are many references by contemporary Egyptian, Yemeni and Syrian historians to the Ayubid conquest of Yemen[229], which makes it clear that this conquest was an ideological step aimed at finishing off the Fatimid cause which had been the aim of the Seljuks that was continued by the Zangids and finally executed by the Ayubids, and it was in no way aimed at gaining Ayubid independence from Noor ad-Deen Zangi.[230] When

the Ayubids conquered Yemen, they were very keen to bring Sunni books in with their troops, and they strove to spread the Sunni message in Yemen, so as to put an end to the Shiite books there, such as the books of the Mu'tazilites, Zaydis and Fatimids which had been brought to Yemen from the land of the Daylam at the time of the Zaydi imams of Yemen and during the era of Fatimid influence in Yemen.[231] On the other hand, the Ayubids strove to incorporate the Muslim west (maghreb) and wrest it from the Muwahhideen (Almohads) in the interests of the Abbasids. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was keen to respect the Abbasid caliphs, and his method was an extension of that of Noor ad-Deen whom Sibt ibn al-Jawzi described as feeling that it was his religious obligation to show obedience to the caliph.[232] This respect stemmed from his belief that obeying the Abbasid caliphs was obligatory. This may be seen clearly in one of the letters of al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil to the caliph an-Nâṣir after Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen captured Aleppo, in which he wrote:

> These three aims — jihad for the sake of Allah, putting a stop to injustice towards the slaves of Allah and obedience to the caliph of Allah — are the aims of the servant (Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen) when he takes control of any land and when he makes any worldly gain that is granted to him. Allah knows best that he is not fighting in order to live a more luxurious life. All he wants is these things which he believes it is obligatory to achieve.[233]

When the caliph an-Nâṣir li Deen-Illâh sent word to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen rebuking him for having the title of al-Malik an-Nâṣir despite the fact that it was the title of the caliph, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sent word apologizing and explaining that this title dated from the time of the caliph al-Mustadi', and that if the caliph chose to give him a different title he would not prefer to use anything else, and he showed proper respect to the caliph.[234] This was the way of most of the Ayubids with the caliphs.[235]

The Ayubid sultans' protection of the Hajj routes and the Two Holy Sanctuaries

After the grace of Allah, the restoration of Abbasid authority over the Hijaz is due to the efforts of the Seljuks in wresting the holy places from the domination of the Shiite Fatimid state. Noor ad-Deen Zangi made great efforts to show kindness to the inhabitants of Makkah and Madinah. He sent troops to guard Madinah, allocated fiefs to the emir of Makkah and to the Arab emirs so that they could protect the pilgrims between Damascus and the Hijaz, completed the walls of Madinah and dug wells for the city. Supplications were said for him, after the Abbasid caliph, on the minbars of the two holy sanctuaries.[236] There is some information of great significance to anyone who researches the history of the Ayubid dynasty and its rise, which indicates that the founder of this dynasty was appointed to lead the Syrian Hajj delegation during his service to Noor ad-Deen Zangi, and that was one of the main factors that gave some authority to this ambitious family. Hence we know that Najm ad-Deen Ayub, the head of the Ayubid clan, led the Syrian Hajj delegation on behalf of Noor ad-Deen Zangi from 551 AH/1156 CE, and this position was inherited from him by his brother Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh, who was described as being very close to Noor ad-Deen Zangi, who sent him as the leader of the Hajj delegation from Damascus.[237] During his lifetime, Shirkuh spent huge amounts of his own wealth on improving the facilities for pilgrims and visitors to the two holy sanctuaries and doing charitable activities, along with his friend, the vizier Jamâl ad-Deen, the vizier of the ruler of Mosul. He gave instructions to his friend that he should be buried in a graveyard near the Prophet's Mosque in Madinah,[238] and the Ayubid kings were eager to fulfil this wish and final request. They transferred the remains of Najm ad-Deen Ayub and his brother Shirkuh after they

had been buried in Egypt, and re-buried them in Madinah, in accordance with their wishes.[239] Abbasid authority was maintained in the Hijaz at the hands of the sultans and kings of the Ayubid state, and this authority was symbolized by the mention of the Abbasid caliphs in the sermons delivered in the sanctuary at Makkah, before the Ayubid sultan of Egypt and the Ayubid king of Yemen; by the sending of the caliphate's symbols confirming the appointment of the emirs of both Makkah and Madinah with the leader of the Iraqi Hajj delegation — the appointment or dismissal of the emirs of Makkah and Madinah, or their deputies, would be read out next to the Prophet's Mosque;[240] by the sending of the cover of the Ka'bah (the *kiswah*) every year, adorned with the symbols of Banu 'Abbâs — it was black with red embroidery bearing the name of the Abbasid caliph — and supplications for him.[241] The Abbasid caliphs also took care of the upkeep of the sanctuary at Makkah and the Prophet's Mosque, and the Abbasid caliph was the only one who was entitled to raise his banner on the day that the pilgrims would stand at 'Arafât.[242] As confirmation of Abbasid supervision of the Makkan sanctuary, the leader of the Iraqi Hajj delegation himself, along with his inner circle, put the cover on the Ka'bah.[243] Cloaks made of black cloth, the Abbasid colour, were also sent from Baghdad to the khaṭeeb (sermon-giver) of the Makkan sanctuary, who received this cloak like the sermon-givers of other lands belonging to the Abbasid dynasty, according to Ibn Jubayr, so that he could wear it when ascending the minbar to deliver the Friday khuṭbah.[244]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi, servant of the Two Holy Sanctuaries

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi inherited general authority from his master Noor ad-Deen Zangi, as well as his mission to unite the

Islamic front in order to wage jihad against the Crusaders, by means of reviving the Abbasid caliphate and supporting the Sunni madhhab. He also inherited from his master the mission of taking care of the pilgrims and securing the Hajj routes. In 572 AH he ordered the abolition of the taxes that were taken in Jeddah from travellers coming via the Red Sea, and he compensated the ruler of Makkah with eight thousand bushels of wheat per year, to be brought by sea, and a similar amount to be distributed to the patients of the hospital in Makkah. He also established endowments for the pilgrims and the Two Holy Sanctuaries,[245] to be spent on their needs when performing the obligatory duty of Hajj.[246] He also allocated fiefs to the emir of Madinah in Upper Egypt and Yemen,[247] and he allocated fiefs for the emir of Madinah, al-Ameer Jimâz, and his children in Upper Egypt. The Ayubid sources do not mention them, but they are confirmed by some documents of the shariah courts which today are preserved in the records of the land registry.[248] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen followed that by abolishing all the unlawful taxes that were collected by merchants from the pilgrims. As a result, the route became very safe for pilgrims after the Hajj had almost ceased and the pilgrims had almost been unable to perform the obligatory duty of Hajj.[249] All these favours that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did for the pilgrims to the sacred House of Allah entitled him to become the Protector of the Two Holy Sanctuaries, which is a manifestation of political leadership in the Muslim world.[250]

The Muslim world was impacted by the efforts of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, hence when Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was mentioned after the Abbasid caliph and the emir of Makkah, in supplications on the minbars of the Two Holy Sanctuaries, cries of 'Ameen' echoed in all corners. When Allah loves one of His slaves, He makes people love him too, and that was due from them because of the care and kindness that he had shown towards them, and because of the taxes that he had abolished for them.[251] Ibn Jubayr said, after mentioning the khaṭeeb's

supplication for Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen:

> He is a man of great deeds and noble characteristics, and when the turn came for his name to be mentioned in the supplication, the people's voices were raised in saying 'Ameen' to the supplication for him, stemming from sincere hearts filled with respect because of what Allah bestowed on aṣ-Ṣultân al-'Âdil (this just sultan) of beautiful praise, and granted him of the people's love. The slaves of Allah are His witnesses on earth.[252]

Ibn Jubayr said:

> We came to know that the letter of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had reached the emir Mukthir, and its main point was that he should take care of the pilgrims and that it was important to be kind to them and make things easy for them, and to prevent any aggression against them, and that this should not be delegated to servants or other officials. And he said: We and you are taken care of because of the blessed supplications of the pilgrims, so think about this noble idea and noble aim. The kindness of Allah is multiplied for the one who is kind to His slaves and His generosity is bestowed upon the one who treats His slaves generously, and Allah has guaranteed to reward those who do good.[253]

In fact Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did not spare any effort to secure the Hajj routes on an ongoing basis, and he made this his main concern. He continued to write to the emir of Makkah, urging him to take care of the pilgrims when they arrived at the Makkan sanctuary,[254] as he had written to the emir of Barqah before him, urging him to protect the Maghrebi and Andalusian pilgrims who passed through his province.[255] He was also on friendly terms with the emir of Madinah, honouring his envoys and expressing gratitude for his gifts, because they had come from the emir of the noble City of the Prophet (ﷺ).[256]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's protection of the land route for pilgrims coming from Egypt, the Maghreb and Andalusia

The Crusaders realized the importance of the Hajj as one of the basic pillars of Islam which brought spiritual unity to the Muslims and strengthened the social and intellectual bonds among them, guaranteeing a sense of loyalty to one Ummah and one social entity. So they began to launch occasional attacks on the Hajj caravans and Egyptian trade caravans which passed through the Sinai desert and known pilgrimage routes, and plundered them.[257] This led to the land route for pilgrims coming from Andalusia, the Maghreb and Egypt falling into disuse, and forced the pilgrims to make a lengthy journey starting from Alexandria to Fustat, then to the city of Qoos in Upper Egypt. From there the pilgrims crossed the 'Aydhâb desert to the port of 'Aydhâb on the Red Sea, whence they travelled in small ships known as al-jallâb to the port of Jeddah. This journey was long and arduous, and the pilgrims suffered a great deal during it.[258]

The Crusaders blocked the Hajj routes across the Sinai after they captured the fortress of Kerak, which made recapturing this fortress one of the most important goals of Noor ad-Deen Zangi,[259] and then of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi when he was his deputy in Egypt, before he became its independent ruler. Hence Noor ad-Deen launched a two-pronged siege against Kerak, attacking from the direction of Syria and the direction of Egypt at the same time, and he almost captured it.[260] When Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen became established as ruler, he made Kerak the target of his first campaign against the Franks, so as to re-establish the route for the caravans and merchants between Egypt and Syria across the Sinai, and to secure the land route for Egyptian pilgrims after it had been blocked. Undoubtedly Reynald de Châtillon's sea campaign via the Red Sea and his attempt to reach Madinah and snatch the body of the Prophet (ﷺ) were done

with full awareness of the importance of the Muslims' pilgrimage to the Hijaz and visits to Madinah and the Prophet's Mosque. Lu'lu', the admiral of the Egyptian fleet, did not spare any effort to capture these Franks and bring them to Cairo in a scene of humiliation which was described to us by Ibn Jubayr, then he sent some of these prisoners to Madinah where they were slaughtered.[261] It comes as no surprise that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had the nickname of 'Servant of the Two Holy Sanctuaries' and 'the Saviour of Jerusalem from the hands of the polytheists'.[262] Nothing is more indicative of the great importance attached by the Muslim world to the securing of the Muslim pilgrimage routes to Makkah and the keenness of the Ayubids to achieve this security that what al-'Imâd al-Isfahâni, the historian of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, said — that the securing of the Hajj route to Makkah was one of the most important motives for Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's conquest of Jerusalem and recapturing it from the Crusaders.[263]

The Ayubid rulers' direct supervision of the Hajj rituals

The Ayubid rulers continued to protect and secure the Hajj routes, and to protect the Iraqi Hajj banner which represented the spiritual authority of the Abbasid caliphate over the Muslim world. This was usually the role of the Ayubids of Yemen, even when Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was still alive, and their names were mentioned after his in the sermons in the Two Holy Sanctuaries.[264] In 582 AH/1186 CE, Sayf al-Islam Tushtigin himself, the Ayubid king of Yemen, reached the Ka'bah to put a stop to the Shiite adhân containing the words *Ḥayya 'alâ khayr il-'amal* ('come to the best of deeds') and to prevent the slaves who were loyal to the emir of Makkah from extorting taxes from the pilgrims. He demanded the key of the Ka'bah from the emir of Makkah so that he would be the guardian of

the Makkan sanctuary in practical terms. This occurred after the emir of Makkah had tried to lock the door of the Ka'bah and give the key to its custodian from Banu Shaybah, in whose hands the Prophet (ﷺ) had said it would remain until Judgement Day. He wanted Tushtigin to go back without giving him the key of the Ka'bah, but Tushtigin threatened to take it by force, at which point the emir of Makkah gave in and handed the key to Tushtigin, who in turn handed it to Banu Shaybah.[265] Another fact that confirms the Ayubid sultans' interest in and concern for the Hajj season was mentioned by the historians of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, who state that he introduced official ceremonies to welcome the Syrian Hajj delegation. That took place during his stay in Damascus. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would ride in military formation, wearing full military dress, and go out to the public celebrations, passing through the streets of Damascus, following a certain route.[266]

Historians have noted that none of the Ayubid sultans of Egypt performed Hajj because they were always preoccupied with jihad against the Crusaders. Among the Ayubids of Yemen, al-Malik al-Mu'adh-dham Shams al-Dawlah Turanshah, the brother of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and conqueror and first king of Yemen,[267] performed Hajj, as did al-Malik al-Mas'ood, known as Baqsees, the son of al-Malik al-Kâmil, sultan of Egypt.[268] Among the Ayubids of Syria who performed Hajj were al-Malik al-Mu'adh-dham 'Eesâ ibn al-'Âdil Abu Bakr, ruler of Damascus, and al-Malik an-Nâṣir Dâwood ibn al-Mu'adh-dham 'Eesâ, ruler of Kerak.[269] From the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, the Ayubids had the honour of protecting the Hajj routes and supervising the Two Holy Sanctuaries, and reinforcing the political authority of the emir in charge of the Iraqi Hajj banner over the Hijaz. The Ayubid sultanate also became the protector of the Abbasid cause, working to extend Abbasid authority throughout the Muslim lands, whether they were possessions of the Fatimid state, or lands under the authority of the Almohads in the Maghreb or, more importantly, Muslim lands in Syria which had been regained from the

Crusaders. Undoubtedly the fact that the Ayubid sultans were the only ones who took on the mission of supporting the Abbasid cause, protecting the Abbasid caliphate and obliging the rulers of neighbouring Muslim lands to show obedience to the Abbasids gave the Ayubid state a strong sharia foundation and gave it a prominent, leading position in the Muslim world.[270] It is worth noting that the first Sunni sultan who took on the mission of protecting the Hajj, before Noor ad-Deen Zangi and his successors the Ayubid sultans, was Sultan Maḥmood al-Ghaznawi, the first of the Sunni sultans to appear in the Muslim east.[271] He was followed by the Seljuks; the Seljuk sultan Malikshah was the first to set the precedent of protecting the Hajj for the sultans who came after him. He built cisterns along the road to the Hijaz, and waived the unauthorized taxes along the Hajj route, and he compensated the emirs of the Two Holy Sanctuaries for that by allocating land and wealth to them. Before that, they used to take seven gold dinars from each pilgrim. He also bestowed many gifts upon the desert Arabs and those who dwelt in the vicinity of the Ka'bah.[272]

The Ayubids' efforts to combat Shiism in Egypt, Syria and Yemen

It is not easy to uproot a madh-hab simply by changing the political system in a country; change needs many years and planning which has nothing to do with power and force. Hence it may be noted that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen used many means and methods to put an end to the Fatimid madh-hab in Egypt. Some of these means involved force, violence and immediate, decisive measures, other used tricks and a gradual approach, and yet others used military power; at the same time, he followed a path of calling, teaching, convincing and winning people over, by means of social and charitable institutions and

endowments which were established to spend on them.[273] Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil played a prominent role in drawing up these strategies. We have seen these means and methods in our discussion of the demise of the Fatimid state. Among the most important of these means were: the humiliation of the Fatimid caliph al-'Âdid and lowering his status; showing disrespect to the palace of the Fatimid state; stopping Jumu'ah prayers in the al-Azhar mosque; putting a stop to the teaching of Fatimid thought therein; destroying and burning Ismaili Shiite books; abolishing all the sectarian festivals of the Fatimids; eradicating Fatimid symbols and currency; detention of members of the Fatimid household; weakening the capital of the Fatimid state; reviving the issue of the Fatimids' false claim to be descended from the Prophet's family; and persistence in pursuing the remnants of Shiism in Syria and Yemen.[274]

It seems that the Shiites and the supporters of the Fatimids in Egypt fled to Upper Egypt and rallied around one of the Arab emirs who was a fanatical supporter of the Fatimid state in Egypt and who was known as Kanz ad-Dawlah. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sent his brother al-Malik al-'Âdil at the head of an army, and he managed to put a stop to this rebellion.[275] The Ayubid state decisively confronted all Fatimid attempts to bring Egypt back to the Ismaili Shiite madh-hab; the Ayubids continued to support Sunni beliefs and to eradicate the Râfiḍi Shiite legacy, seeking out its followers in Cairo and Upper Egypt, so that there was no one left who was able to openly follow that madh-hab. It thus disappeared from Egypt.[276] They continued to pursue the followers of this madh-hab in Syria and Yemen until they managed to put an end to the Ismaili madh-hab in Egypt, Yemen and Syria, and thus completed what the Ghaznawids, Seljuks and Zangids had started, namely combating the Ismaili Shiite madh-hab and spreading the Sunni madh-hab in Iran and Syria.[277] The Ismailis realized that their madh-hab had never, throughout their history, been struck a blow by the Sunni Ghaznawid and Seljuk sultans like that

which was dealt by the fall of the Fatimid state, the greatest Shiite state that had ever existed in the history of Islam, which had gained the authority of a caliphate and had almost incorporated the entire Muslim world under its banner, when sermons were given in its name in Baghdad in 450 AH/1058 CE.[278] So it comes as no surprise that the Ismaili Shiites all regard Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen as the one who destroyed their great state in Egypt.[279] Hence the pens of the Râfiḍi Shiites throughout history have never tired of trying to distort the image of an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi. Shiism continued to grow weaker in Egypt until it was almost totally eradicated, and Egypt began to follow the madh-hab of Ahl as-Sunnah wal-Jamâ'ah.

Factors which helped the Ayubids in the Sunni revival movement

There were numerous factors which contributed to the Ayubids' success in the Sunni revival movement. Among these factors was the fact that the Ismaili Shiite madh-hab was not deeply rooted, and the Egyptians had two stances towards it. The first was admiration for the followers of this madh-hab because of the efforts they had made to spread their madh-hab, which included: a lot of celebrations, invitations and feasts; generosity in giving gifts; manifestations of luxury and living well which appeared in various activities in life; and presenting themselves as great and important, which they were always eager to do.[280] The second attitude towards their madh-hab was reflected in the fact that most of those who became involved in it did so either in pursuit of money, status and position, or out of fear of persecution and punishment. Neither of these two parties embraced it out of belief or faith. The Fatimids used a carrot-and-stick approach, among other methods, in propagating their madh-hab. When Ya'qoob ibn Kallas became the vizier of al-

'Azeez, he gathered the scholars in his house and gave them all a salary.[281] Some time after settling in Egypt, the Fatimids obliged all their employees to embrace the madh-hab of the state, so holding on to one's position or getting promoted required an outward show of following their beliefs. It seems to us that a desire to attain official positions is what prompted some Sunnis to turn to the Shiite madh-hab.[282] The terrorist methods used by the Fatimids to impose their madh-hab on the people were many. In 381 AH/991 CE, a man in Egypt was beaten and paraded around the city because a copy of *Al-Muwaṭṭâ* by Imam Mâlik was found in his possession.[283] The Sunnis were persecuted during the rule of al-Ḥâkim bi Amr-Illâh in 395 AH/ 1004 CE, and forced to write words reviling the Companions of the Prophet (ﷺ) on their houses, and they obeyed unwillingly.[284] This wave of persecution under al-Ḥâkim resulted in people hastening to join the madh-hab out of fear. The head judge sat to receive them, and they came from all directions, and a number of men and women died.[285] At the time of adh-Dhâhir, Mâliki influence was still strong, and the caliph was forced to expel the Mâliki scholars of jurisprudence from Egypt in 416 AH/1025 CE. The (Shiite) preachers were ordered to teach the people the book *Da'â'im al-Islâm*, about the principles of Ismaili belief, and other books, and make them learn them by heart, and they gave money to those who did so.[286] From this it becomes clear to us that this madh-hab had no strong foundation in Egypt. Hence when Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen came and founded the Sunni schools and appointed Shâfi'i judges, then followed that by toppling the Fatimid caliphate, the Shâfi'is and Mâlikis regained their influence in Egypt, and the Ismaili and Imami Shiite madh-hab disappeared from Egypt altogether,[287] praise be to Allah. The Râfiḍi Shiites are still trying to gain a foothold in the beloved land of Egypt, but the love of the heroic Egyptians for their religion and their strong persistence down throughout the ages in adhering to sound Sunni belief, sound understanding of the Book of

Allah, sincere love for the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allah and their following the example of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, have made all the attempts of the Shiites meet with failure. The Sunni schools helped the Ummah to adhere to the Qur'an and Sunnah, and warned them against innovations, and reminded them of what is proven in the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Messenger (ﷺ) of prohibitions and warnings against innovations, such as the verse which clearly enjoins obedience to Allah and His Messenger.[288] Allah (ﷻ) says:

﴾Say: Obey Allah and obey the Messenger, but if you turn away, then upon him is only that [duty] with which he has been charged. And If you obey him, you will be rightly guided. And there is not upon the Messenger except the [responsibility for] clear notification.﴿

(Qur'an 24: 54)

﴾So let those beware who dissent from his [the Prophet's] order, lest some fitnah [trials, afflictions] strike them or a painful punishment.﴿

(Qur'an 24: 63)

Another factor that helped the Ayubids in achieving their goals in Egypt was the fact that during their era Egypt became a magnet for Sunni scholars from all madh-habs. They made a brilliant contribution to the restoration of Egypt to the Sunni path, by teaching in the schools that were founded there, or by preaching and writing books which supported the Sunnah. These efforts continued to seek out the pockets of Ismaili Shiites who remained in Egypt. Most of the scholars who helped the Ayubids in their efforts were equal to the responsibility placed upon their shoulders in terms of knowledge, attitude and religious commitment. May of them also played a role in political and social life, such as al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil, al-Imâd al-Isfahâni, Bahâ' ad-Deen ibn Shaddâd, Sharaf ad-Deen ibn Abi 'Aṣroon and al-'Izz ibn 'Abd as-Salâm. Some of them even played an effective role in the fields of jihad and war, such as the faqeeh 'Eesâ al-Ḥakkâri.

Many of them showed great courage in confronting and advising rulers, so they were brilliant examples for the masses. Hence their influence on them was strong and effective.[289] Many of the Ayubids were themselves scholars who played their part in supporting the Sunni madh-hab, as we shall see in detail below, in shâ' Allah.

Educational principles in the guidelines set out by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen

Among the principles which we may note in the guidelines set out by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in his letters as a political and Islamic leader were the following:

The religious obligation of obedience to the ruler

He said concerning his obedience to the Abbasid caliph, "We do not see obedience to the ruler as anything other than one of the pillars of Islam," and he said, "It is known what advantage Allah has given us over them and we support the state in that and are eliminating anyone who disputes his position."[290]

Removing innovators from the pulpit

He said concerning the removal of Shiite preachers from the minbar, "We did not purify the minbar from the impurity of the impostors for worldly gain, so there is no point in boasting about something the reward for which is in paradise and in the hereafter. But speaking of the blessings of Allah is obligatory."[291]

Forbidding blind devotion to madh-habs

He said in his letter to his brother al-'Âdil who was his deputy in Egypt, when some people had caused some trouble:

> We have heard that in Egypt there are some scholars of jurisprudence who were joined by a group of people with swords, and they started to say bad things that are not acceptable, and they created an atmosphere of factionalism by following the forces of evil and bringing back to life that which Allah had caused to die. Allah says, and His word is sufficient proof for those who hear and obey:
>
> ﴾And hold firmly to the Rope of Allah all together.﴿
>
> *(Qur'an 3: 103)*
>
> Sectarian adherence to madh-habs is still filling hearts with hatred, but Allah forbids arguing with those who dissent and split away, so how about arguing with those who are in harmony, except in the best manner? We do not know of any good intention for that, or any interest that could be served by it.[292]

Encouraging justice and kind treatment

He was always keen to direct his governors to do this, telling them to be just to the people who were entrusted to them, and to go beyond being just and be kind to them. If a governor delegated this matter to one of his officials, then he should fear Allah and not let himself be controlled by whims and desires, or let the devil have any way of reaching him, if he should be capable of it himself.[293] He said, "Taking bribes has become common nowadays, but it is a cause of doom which the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) told us to avoid; he forbade

taking bribes and getting involved in that, and it is like interest, for which the one who pays it and the one who consumes it are both cursed."[294]

Paying attention to the judiciary

With regard to the judges who are the pillars and troops of the Sharia, and who preserve the knowledge thereof so that no tampering can reach it, they are the ones to be relied on, their help is to be sought and official positions are not to be given to those who seek them, rather to those that are not thinking of that.[295]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was keen to return to the basic principles mentioned in the Qur'an and Sunnah, and he put a great deal of effort into adhering to these principles in all his efforts, by eradicating innovations and things that were contrary to Sharia. He paid attention to maintaining curricula and seeking to unify them; he supported the principle of equal opportunity in education, and made the Ummah understand what was happening in the light of its sound beliefs, so it set out to achieve great victories, such as the liberation of Jerusalem and other conquests.

CHAPTER IV

The Status of the Scholars in the Estimation of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi realized that one of the means of achieving victory against the spread of Bâṭini Shiism and the Crusader invasion was the presence of a God-fearing leadership. This is what could, by the grace of Allah, bring the Ummah towards its set goals with firm steps. He was fully convinced of the importance of having God-fearing scholars at the helm, for they were the heart and soul of the leadership. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi realized that liberating and uniting lands was not merely a political or military action, rather it was much broader than that. It meant confronting the Bâṭini, Râfiḍi Shiite madh-hab which posed an internal danger and threatened the beliefs of the Ummah and the soundness of its religious commitment; and it also meant facing up to the conflict with the European, Christian West. If the Ummah's character was not based on sound belief, their victories over their opponents would never be anything more than a partial, temporary achievement that would always be vulnerable to the ebb and flow of history, as always happens. What this situation required was not only external victories in battle or recapturing fortresses, rather it also required building an Ummah that knew how to fight and how to preserve its ideology and its cultural character against loss and disintegration. Then every military element of political gain would increase the strength of the Muslim social structure, its confidence in its identity and its cohesion, so that it would not crumble beneath a series of blows and thus cause years of toil and sweat to be wasted.[296]

Academic activity at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and his interest in scholars was in fact no more than a natural extension of the era of Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood, and it was never an intellectual luxury or a traditional activity of some sector of the state. Rather it was deliberately aimed at laying the foundation for sound beliefs. The Ayubids took an interest in the scholars and played a role in supporting the Sunni madh-hab. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi based his belief on evidence by means of studying with shaykhs and senior scholars of jurisprudence, and through that he developed an understanding of what he needed to understand, so that when a discussion took place in his presence, he could comment on it even though he did not express himself like a faqeeh.[297] He was keen to spend time alone with some of the scholars who were close to him...and read to him some hadiths or fiqh, and he would sit with the scholars of jurisprudence when they sat as consultants in judiciary committees.[298] We have seen above that he was very keen to listen to hadith and he would go to senior scholars of the Hadith and learn from them. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was keen for his children to grow up respecting knowledge and scholars, so he would take them with him to lessons and make them study some religious books, so they grew up loving knowledge and respecting scholars.[299]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen kept the scholars of the Zangid era close to him, and he honoured them and cooperated with them. The viziers and emirs in his state were senior scholars, one of the most famous of whom was his vizier, scribe and consultant, al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil 'Abd ar-Raḥeem ibn 'Ali, of whom Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen said, "I did not conquer any land by my sword, rather it was by the advice of al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil." Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil combined deep piety with his political acumen; he prayed, fasted and read the Qur'an a great deal. He was humble, often visited the sick, and treated the poor kindly.[300] There follows a biography of some of the most important scholars and a

discussion of the scholars' role in politics, academic life, jihad and education at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil

The imam and great and eloquent scholar, al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil Muḥiy ad-Deen, the master of the eloquent, Abu 'Ali 'Abd ar-Raḥeem ibn 'Ali ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Asqallâni, head of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's chancery, was born in 529 AH. In middle age he learned from Abu aṭ-Ṭâhir as-Salafi, Abu Muhammad al-'Uthmâni, Abul-Qâsim ibn 'Asâkir, Abu aṭ-Ṭâhir ibn 'Awf and 'Uthmân ibn Faraj al-'Abdari.[301] Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil attained a high level of skill in writing rhymed prose, an art in which he had a brilliant touch and produced creative meanings. He attained a level of prominence which no one else could match and in which no one could compete with him, although there were many active in that field.[302] He learned this skill from al-Muwaffaq Yoosuf ibn al-Khallâl, the head of al-'Âdid's chancery. Then he served on the border for a while, then his services were requested by the son of aṣ-Ṣâliḥ ibn Ruzzeek who employed him in the chancery.[303] Al-'Imâd said:

> He died as a good Muslim, not leaving any righteous deed but he did it, and not having entered any covenant but he fulfilled it. His great accomplishments in freeing prisoners and establishing endowments cannot be listed, especially the endowments he established for freeing prisoners. He supported the Mâlikis and Shâfi'is by establishing schools, and he helped orphans by establishing schools for teaching the Qur'an. He restored people's rights, and was ahead in doing righteous deeds. The sultan was obedient to him, and lands were not conquered except because of his good advice and opinion. I am one of his good deeds. His writings were as

> effective and powerful as mighty battalions, his pen was the jewel of the age, his intelligence was used for righteous purposes, his words were highly effective [literally — could undo the knots of witchcraft], his eloquence lent perfection to the state and gave the era of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen precedence over others, surpassing the styles of the ancients. I never found him repeating a supplication in any letter that he wrote, and he never repeated a word when speaking to people.[304]

He said of him in his book *Al-Kharreedah*:

> Before I mention the prominent people of Egypt, I will start by mentioning one compared to whom all the prominent people of Egypt are no more than a drop in the ocean, al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil... He is like the Sharia of Muhammad that abrogated all laws that came before; he is the author of creative ideas, he is the one whose ideas represent the foundation of the state. What he produces in one day, if it were written down, would be the best help to people in that field. Where is a poet in comparison to his eloquence, where is Qays in comparison to his wisdom, where are Ḥâtim and 'Amr in comparison to his tolerance and zeal?[305] He does not remind others of his favours when he does good deeds, or waffle when he speaks. He is a man of honesty, chivalry and purity, one of the close friends of Allah who are singled out for honour. Despite the overwhelming circumstances, he does not neglect supererogatory prayers or the people to whom he gives on a regular basis.[306]

Al-Ḥafidh al-Mundhiri said concerning him, "The Sultan trusted him completely and held him in high esteem. He was very righteous and did a lot of good deeds."[307] Al-Muwaffaq 'Abd al-Laṭeef said:

> Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil loved writing and books; he was religiously committed, dignified, persistently recited the supplications for morning and evening and read Qur'an. When Asad ad-Deen came to power he summoned him and admired him, then Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen made him one of his inner circle. He did not occupy himself with physical pleasures; he did a lot of good deeds and always prayed night prayers. He took an interest in tafseer and literature, and took less of an interest in grammar although he was good at it. His writing of official letters was unparalleled. Ibn Sina' al-Mulk mentioned that what he wrote filled twenty two volumes. Ibn Qattân mentioned that it was twenty volumes. He was abstemious in his food, physical pleasures and clothing; he wore white clothes. He often attended funerals and visited the sick, and he did charitable deeds secretly and openly. He was physically weak, with a gentle image, and he had a hunch-back that he covered with his taylasân (a shawl-like garment). He was hot-tempered but he suppressed it and did not harm anyone. He showed kindness to people of knowledge and treated them gently. He did not take revenge on his enemies except by showing them kindness or turning away from them. His annual income was approximately fifty thousand dinars, apart from trade with India and the Maghreb.[308] He died of a heart attack when he needed death most, when things got very bad, which indicates that Allah cared for him.[309]

Abu Shâmah said concerning him:

> He was wise and mature, respected by the Sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen who asked for his opinion and consulted him at times of turmoil; the sultan obeyed him and did not conquer any region except on the basis of his opinion. His writings were a means that led to victory.[310]

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil was appointed to many posts and contributed to many achievements at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, including the following:

Head of the chancery

When Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was the vizier of the Fatimid state in Egypt, he was regarded as the sultan and was called as such. When al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil was appointed as head of the chancery, he was regarded as his vizier.[311] Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil continued to work in the chancery as its head, even though he kept the title of deputy head of the chancery, out of respect to his teacher, sponsor and superior, Shaykh al-Muwaffaq Abul-Ḥajjâj Yoosuf ibn al-Khallâl. He never made Ibn al-Khallâl feel that he had taken his place, even though Ibn Khallâl may have liked that because of his respect and fondness for al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil, and his liking for continuity in style and ideas; he was not disappointed in his student who treated him towards the end of his life as a righteous son treats his father.[312]

His position as head of the chancery was the highest position that he was hoping for. After a conflict that had lasted for twenty one years in Egypt, in which he went through all kinds of suffering, he reached a position that some of the scribes had tried to prevent him from reaching. After reaching this position, he became known as as-Sayyid al-Ajall (most respected master) and ash-Shaykh al-Ajall (most respected shaykh), Kâtib ad-Dast ash-Shareef (scribe of the noble council), and Ṣâḥib Diwân al-Inshâ' (head of the chancery).[313] However, most often he was called al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil (the virtuous judge), a title by which he became better known than by his original name of 'Abdur-Raḥeem al-Baysâni al-'Asqallâni, which was indicative of his homeland and birthplace, especially in writings about him. Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil took charge of the chancery in Egypt,

despite the presence of scribes who were older than him and whom he had met when he first entered the chancery as a student, and had trained under some of them, such as al-Qâḍi al-Atheer ibn Bayân. Then he worked with them and leapt ahead of them when he was promoted, whilst they remained where they were, which provoked some of them against him. It is clear that al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil's energetic character, ability to adapt, keen intelligence, and strong intuition which helped him to recognize strengths and weaknesses in leaders, were among the factors that led to his rapid promotion, but his beautiful literary style opened up horizons for him, which is indicative of the importance of literature in politics and the appreciation that statesmen at that time had for literature and literary figures, and their sponsorship of those who were talented.[314] As soon as al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil became head of the chancery, he started to work with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen to make gradual preparations for putting an end to the Fatimid state. The first step they took in that direction was the preparation of an Ayubid army to implement the plan of revolt.[315]

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil and the army of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen

As soon as he was appointed as vizier, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen started working to prepare an Ayubid army that would form the nucleus of a new Egyptian army, to defend Egypt against Crusader invasion. The deterioration of the Fatimid army was no secret to him, because he had encountered it during his three journeys to Egypt between 559 AH and 564 AH, and he knew it very well with regard to its human, financial and military resources, and with regard to its organization and its battalions which were formed on the basis of ethnicity, such as the Sudanese, Armenians, Egyptians, Daylam, Turks and Bedouins. He knew the situation of each of these battalions in detail.[316] Al-Qâḍi

al-Fâḍil worked as an administrator of these forces at the time of Ruzzeek ibn al-Ṣâliḥ, and he took part with them in some of their battles during the second Syrian Frankish campaign against Egypt, and he saw the leaders of the different battalions when they were competing for power, which exhausted the forces and weakened Egypt to the point where it became incapable of defending its independence or even of surviving. Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil knew many of the Egyptian forces through his work with them in the military department and in the chancery which dealt with the military department, and he supervised the spies and messengers. Hence he was very knowledgeable about them; he knew their secrets and had information on each battalion and its commander. He did not withhold this information from Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, rather he advised him on the organization and administration of his Ayubid army, and throughout the period in which he worked with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen he supervised his troops and watched over their preparation, organization and financial resources. He accompanied them from Egypt to Syria to fight alongside Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, and from Syria to Egypt to prepare for coming campaigns against the Franks.[317] Although al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil was the head of the chancery and the vizier of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's state, he was aware of everything, great and small, that had to do with the army because of the connection between the chancery and the military department. He took part in preparing war plans, supervising the financing of the army and fleet and their supplies, and preparing them for jihad. He continued with these responsibilities throughout the period during which he worked with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.[318]

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil: ending Fatimid opposition

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil based his political manoeuvres, when Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen first became vizier, on his experiences in the Fatimid

palaces, in the army, and with the viziers and administrators. He realized that these institutions and their personnel formed a den of never-ending conspiracies and a source of ceaseless plotting. He had witnessed all of that and dealt with it before. He was also certain that they would not hesitate to seek help from the Franks despite all the disasters and calamities that had befallen the Egyptian people before, in order to hold on to their power, especially if they thought that the rule of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, or of the Ayubid sultans in general, represented a danger to them. Therefore, as soon as Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen gave him full responsibility in administration, he began to plant spies among these institutions, groups and individuals whom he recognized and whose evil he feared. These institutions and groups, for their part, started planning to put an end to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's rule. The confidant of the caliph was the leader of these groups; he started his activities as soon as Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was appointed. Uncovering the conspiracy was one of the responsibilities of the chancery and, in particular, of al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil, who continued to keep an eye on the chancery scribes, especially those who had been dismissed. The efforts of al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil played a role in the uncovering of the conspiracy headed by the caliph's confidant, and he put an end to it. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen broke the power of the Armenians, who were second to the Sudanese in strength and numbers. He burned a building belonging to the Armenians between the two palaces, in which there was a large number of Armenian troops, most of whom were archers who had government salaries. They were the ones who had tried to impede the movements of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's forces during the battle with the Sudanese, by shooting their arrows, so they got their just desserts. Those who survived were banished to Upper Egypt by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.[319] Fatimid power was weakened, indeed broken, within the first five months of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen being appointed as vizier. That was followed by two years in which the Egyptian administration was changed and became a new, Sunni, Ayubid

administration. Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil played a role in this change which paved the way for Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen to become the absolute ruler in Egypt, for al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil to be appointed as the vizier of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, and for an end to be put to the Fatimid caliphate.[320]

Reorganization of the administration in Egypt

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil started to implement his plan to topple the Fatimid system by getting rid of the department heads and scribes who were loyal to the Fatimids. Because of his work in the departments, he knew the men of state, heads of departments and scribes, and their political affiliations and sectarian inclinations. He was on friendly terms with some, regarded others as enemies and was in competition with still others. He had the opportunity to get rid of whoever he could, and he did just that. He got rid of a large number of Ismaili Shiites, Christian and Jewish scribes and others, fearing that they might conspire with the Fatimid remnants, or make contact with the Franks in the name of the departments in which they were working. He referred to the danger posed by these scribes in more than one official letter to the Abbasid caliph and to Noor ad-Deen. In one of the letters he wrote on behalf of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen to the caliph al-Mustadi' (570 AH/1174-1175 CE), he described the situation of Egypt under the Fatimids by saying, "The Fatimids have inner circles whose members frequent their palaces, some of whom are calling the people in crafty ways to misguidance and making the people incline towards them. Some of them are scribes whose pens are like poison."

His suspicions were proven to be true later on, when these scribes started plotting and conspiring to topple Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. As he dismissed the scribes and administrators whose loyalty he doubted, he kept those of whose loyalty he was certain and those whose

administrative skills, information and help he needed to implement the plans for revolt, foremost among whom was al-Khaṭeer ibn Mamâti, the head of the military department, and one of the friends of al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil. Ibn Mamâti had served in the military department at the time of Shâwir, and had become a Sunni at the hands of Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh. He remained close to al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil and loved him until his death in 578 AH.[321] After he died, his son al-As'ad ibn Mamâti was appointed in charge of the department; al-As'ad was as loyal as his father to al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil, who relied on his administrative skills and loyalty during his absence from Egypt. Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil also took care of al-Atheer ibn Bayân, the head of the office of governmental oversight, and kept him in his post; he was also a Sunni. This Ibn Bayân was older than al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil; he had been working in the chancery when al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil entered it, seeking knowledge in it, and he had defended him when he returned from Alexandria to Cairo. Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil continued to work with Ibn Bayân and rely on him, and when Ibn Bayân grew old and was no longer able to work, al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil allocated him a pension to help him.[322] He also kept al-Ḥasan al-Makhzoomi, who was a Sunni, as the head of the Royal Court. He himself remained as head of the chancery in addition to his general administrative role as vizier. He started directing these departments to serve the aims of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and his state,[323] and his great Islamic project.

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil and the Sunni revival in Egypt

Alexandria was a centre for the Sunni revival in Egypt. This was achieved at the hands of the scholars who came there from the Maghreb, such as Abu Bakr at-Tartooshi, and from the east, such as as-Salafi. They founded schools in the city which had a great impact

on the Sunni revival and on the jihad movement against the Franks. This explains the support of the people of Alexandria for Asad ad-Deen — and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. As for Cairo, it was not blessed with schools and Sunni scholars of jurisprudence like Alexandria, but that situation changed with the appearance of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen on the political stage. Even though Noor ad-Deen and Asad ad-Deen benefited from some of the Sunnis before Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen became vizier in getting popular support for their movement within Egypt, these elements on their own were not sufficient. There was a need for a "cultural revolution" in Egypt through which the country could gradually be brought back to the Sunni madh-hab. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen began his reforms in Egypt even before dealing the final blow to the Fatimids, by establishing a number of schools for the four madh-habs, the first of which was built for the Shâfi'is on the ruins of the al-Ma'oonah jail, where many of the leaders of Egypt had been kept, in 566 AH/1170-1171 CE. It was perhaps the first school of its type in Egypt. In 566 AH/1170 CE, he also founded a school for the Mâlikis next to the mosque of 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ, which was known as al-Qamhiyah. Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar ibn Shahinshah ibn Ayub, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's nephew, founded a school for the Shâfi'is and established a number of places as endowments to support it.[324]

These schools were the beginning of a Sunni school-building movement in which many of the Ayubids and their emirs took part during Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's rule in Egypt later on. Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil also took part in it, by building one of the most prosperous of these schools, where he kept a large number of the Fatimids' treasury of books. The idea of building Sunni schools was imported from Syria, along similar lines to what Noor ad-Deen had done there of establishing schools with similar curricula and subjects to those which were taught in the Nizâmi schools in Baghdad. Financing these schools and selecting teachers for them were the responsibilities of al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil. Among the administrative

reforms that were introduced during the viziership of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was the separation of the Fatimid department of endowments, which supervised and financed religious institutions, from the department of finance; it was made into a separate department under the direct administration of the vizier, namely Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, before the fall of the Fatimids, and it came under the direct supervision of al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil after their fall. After that he was primarily responsible for the administration of these important institutions and for selecting teachers, scholars of the Qur'an and the Hadith, preachers and imams for them.[325] These were all means of change. It is well known that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen relied on the experience of al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil in selecting people for these roles when he was in Egypt, and he continued to do so after he moved to Syria, as he consulted him on religious and educational matters. After Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had prepared the Egyptians for the revolt and clipped the wings of the Fatimid institutions, as we have seen, he began to prepare to put a final end to the symbols of the Fatimid caliphate. In 565 AH/1169 CE, he abolished the altered form of the adhân that contained the words *Ḥayya 'alâ khayr il-'amal, Muhammad wa 'Ali khayr al-bashar* (Come to good deeds, Muhammad and 'Ali are the best of humankind). Al-Maqreezi commented that this was the first change that was introduced to the state.[326]

- Then after that, he ordered on Friday 10th Dhul-Hijjah 565 AH (1170 CE) that the Rightly-Guided Caliphs be mentioned in the Friday khuṭbah: Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmân and 'Ali.[327]
- After that he ordered that al-'Âdid be mentioned in the khuṭbah in ambiguous terms, so as to confuse the Shiites. So the khaṭeeb would say: O Allah, guide the supporter (*al-'âdid*) to Your religion.[328]
- He appointed as qâḍi in Cairo the faqeeh 'Eesâ al-Ḥakâri, who was a Kurd and one of the closest people to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. He

did this as a first step towards changing the people's loyalty in Cairo, most of the inhabitants of which were Ismailis.[329]

- He dismissed the Shiite qâḍis in Egypt, after which he captured the possessions of al-'Âdid and the palaces, which he handed over to al-Tawâshi Bahâ' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh al-Asadi, who took control of Egypt and began to watch everything that happened there, great or small, until the caliph al-'Âdid was effectively placed under house arrest in his palace.[330]

- At the beginning of 567 AH/1171-1172 CE, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen issued orders stopping the sermons in the name of the Fatimids. This was also done gradually. On the first Friday of Muharram 567 AH/1171-1172 CE, the name of al-'Âdid was omitted from the khuṭbah. On the second Friday, the khuṭbah was given in the name of the caliph al-Mustadi' bi Amr-Illâh Abu Muhammad al-Ḥasan ibn al-Mustanjid Billâh, and sermons were no longer given in the name of the Fatimids.[331] Al-'Âdid died on 10 Muharram 567 AH/1171-1172 CE.[332] This 'Ashoorâ was different from what the Egyptians were used to in terms of innovations introduced by the leaders of the Fatimid state, such as heartbreaking speeches and moving eulogies for the family of the Prophet (ﷺ), which provoked hatred by means of fabricated stories and blatant lies. The result of these innovative practices had been that they reviled the Rightly-Guided and Umayyad caliphs; then they would go to their homes to eat boiled corn, lentils and other traditional dishes that the generations who came after them inherited from them, and which are known on 'Ashoorâ' even today. Then the next day they would start a new year in their lives, and their gaze was focused on their rulers. The caliph used to hide away in his palace on 'Ashoorâ' and in the forenoon the chief qâḍi

would ride, wearing special clothes, to the so-called shrine of al-Ḥusayn. Then they would sit with the Qur'an reciters from the palace and the sermon-givers, and the vizier would come in at the head of the gathering, with the qâḍi and head preacher beside him, and the readers would recite the Qur'an one by one, with everyone listening. As soon as they had finished reading, the poets — who were usually poets other than the poets of the palace — would stand up and recite poetry that they had prepared for this special occasion; their poems were eulogies for the Prophet's family. If the vizier was a Râfiḍi they would exaggerate, and if he was a Sunni they would keep it short. They would continue like this for three hours, and after the Qur'an recitations and poems were finished, the envoys of the caliph would come and summon them. The first to leave would be the vizier. The chief judge, head preacher and their entourage would go to the golden gate of the palace where they would behold a scene different from that which they were used to. The valuable carpets had been rolled up and replaced with ordinary mats, and the gatekeeper was sitting, waiting for them. They would sit down, with the local dignitaries, scholars, and troops around them or beside them. The reciters would recite the Qur'an again, and the poets also repeated their performance, and the people present would weep again. Then food would be served to the mourners, nearly a thousand dishes of lentils, savouries, pickles, cheese, yoghurt, honey, pies, and bread of which the colour had deliberately been changed. At noon the gatekeeper and the host of the dining hall would tell the people to come in and eat. The first ones to enter would be the chief qâḍi and head preacher, and the gatekeeper would sit near them, on behalf of the vizier. Then whoever among the people wanted to eat would also enter. After the meal was finished, they would all

leave the place, and the mourners would go around in Cairo. Merchants would close their shops until 'aṣr (mid-afternoon), then they would open them.[333] Now, however, life could return to normal after all these innovations.

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil often had taken part in these celebrations because of his work and his closeness to the Fatimid establishment, but this 'Ashoorâ' was different from what the Egyptians were used to. There was no chief qâḍi, and no head preacher, because they had been dismissed. There were no poets or mourners going around in the streets of Cairo because the day had been prepared for another kind of celebration, which was the celebration of putting an end to these rituals which the Egyptians had observed for more than two hundred years, and putting an end to the caretakers of these rituals with all their symbols and concepts. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did not go to the so-called shrine of al-Ḥusayn, as was customary for the vizier to do. Rather he went to the mosque of 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ to pray, accompanied by a number of people from Syria and Egypt. After the prayer he sat down, with al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil nearby, and they spoke about what they had achieved since the previous Friday when the Fatimid caliphate had been abolished and prayers for the Abbasid caliph had been included in the khuṭbah. Then one of the soldiers rushed in, came to them, told them something and left. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil looked at one another, and al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil winked at him, and they both smiled with joy and relief.

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's expression quickly changed though and he said, "If we had known that he — the caliph al-'Âdid — was going to die on this day, we would not have annoyed him and omitted his name from the sermons."

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil laughed and replied, "O master, if he knew that you would not erase his name from the sermons, he would not have died!"[334]

Everyone present smiled at this word play between the vizier Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and his scribe and adviser, which concluded the final page of the history of the Fatimid state. Al-'Âdid, the last of their caliphs, died on this day, the day of 'Ashoorâ' in 567 AH/1171 CE, the day of remembrance for the murder of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Ali.[335]

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil sees the end of the Fatimid state

The Egyptian historian al-Maqreezi referred to the role played by al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil in the revolt against the Fatimids, as he wrote, "Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sought the help of (al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil) in his plans to eradicate the Fatimid state, until he achieved what he wanted, so he made him his vizier and consultant."[336] The phrase "sought the help of" points to the role that al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil played in the implementation of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's plan to put an end to the Fatimid state. Similarly, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's choice of al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil as his vizier was no more than an expression of his appreciation for the role that al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil played in this critical plan and in laying the foundations for the Ayubid state which preceded this plan. It is also indicative of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's clear acknowledgement of the role played by al-Qâdi al-Fâḍil in toppling the Fatimids, and the importance of al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil in the future plans of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen continued to reap the benefits of choosing al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil as his vizier until he died. The achievements of al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil in the administration of Egypt from the time of Asad ad-Deen, and his words in his letters at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen point to the important role he played in reinforcing the Sunni presence in Egypt. He strove hard, by means of a comprehensive Sunni plan, to put an end to the factors of religious division in the Muslim world, to protect Egypt against Frankish invasion, and to take back Palestine. The

opportunity to achieve these goals became available with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, and he hastened to achieve them.[337] In Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen he saw a leader who was capable of saving Egypt from the Frankish danger on the one hand, and of rendering a great service to his Ummah on the other. This is why he put all his knowledge, experience and administrative, literary and poetic skills at Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's disposal, and with his help and cooperation, brought some measure of internal stability to Egypt, after the land and its people had suffered calamities and tribulations. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen realized that al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil was a great man with a great mind and knowledge and a great position, and that he was able to help him to reach his goals in Egypt with his ample resources. Thus the two men worked together, each in his own field, to achieve a great goal that they both felt should be achieved.[338] Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil was a politician and a great statesman who combined the benefits of his political situation, flexibility and political acumen with a great aim to which he devoted himself, no matter how long it would take to achieve it, and he took advantage of the winds of history when they began to blow. He believed that the way of Islam was the way of Ahl as-Sunnah, and that every other way led to nothing but disputes and loss of faith and strength. The land of Palestine was never absent from his mind, and when the opportunity came to take it back and he was certain that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was sincere in his jihad for it, then his resolve grew stronger and he prepared himself to take part. The route he chose for himself enabled him to reach a high position, and he became the vizier of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, the second in command, and by doing so he achieved all that any politician would hope to achieve, by contributing to the plan and working hard, as well as achieving personal success on a high level. All of that is testimony to his many talents and high acumen.[339]

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil was the official spokesman of Sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen at home and abroad. According to Ibn Katheer, he was dearer to him than his own family and children.[340] The Sultan would

point to his efforts and say, "Do not think that I have gained control of the land by means of your swords, rather it is by the pen of al-Fâḍil."[341] Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil attained a high position in the state, and he was Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's right hand man, as he made him his vizier and consultant; he did not decide about any issue except on the basis of the vizier's advice, he did not do anything except on the basis of the vizier's opinion, and he did not pass judgement in any case except on the basis of the vizier's understanding of the issue.[342] The life of this well-versed scholar teaches us many lessons, including the following: not to isolate oneself from public affairs; to get involved in society and government; to strive to gain experience and skills; and the importance of achieving distinction in what one does, of adhering to the path of Ahl as-Sunnah wal-Jamâ'ah, of cooperating with one's brethren in adhering to sound belief and of using all one's abilities and potential to serve the Sunni mission. He selected people for Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen of ideal Sunni character and drew up practical plans; he did not withhold any opinion, advice or experience. The life of this man is also a lesson for understanding the aims of the Sharia, weighing up the pros and cons, and the rise and fall of states. We can also learn from him, in his role as the thinker and great mufti in the state of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, the importance of dealing with the ordinary Shiite masses on a basis of justice, loving goodness for them, not shedding their blood, and being keen to teach them; force is only to be used against conspirators and militia groups, and with those with whom nothing will work except force.

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil and jihad

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil accompanied Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen on all his campaigns in Syria, then he stayed in Egypt to supervise its financial administration and to work on preparing the army and the fleet, after which he returned to Syria and stayed close to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen until

his final illness and death, with al-Qâḍi Ibn Shaddâd, in 589 AH/ 1193 CE.[343] There were some cases in which al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil played a major role and which confirmed his position and high status in Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's state. When the sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was camping in Marj al-Safar in Syria in 571 AH/1176 CE, the Crusaders asked him for a truce and he responded, because he had no choice, as there was a drought in Syria. Then he sent his army with al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil to Egypt, so that the troops could rest on the one hand and because he feared turmoil in Egypt during his absence on the other. Hence his sending the army with al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil was a smart move and an act of resolve, aimed at keeping order in the new territory.[344] Moreover, al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil was almost always with Sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in his jihad, as may be confirmed by the letter that he sent to Sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen apologizing for not joining him in his jihad against the Crusaders at Hârim in 573 AH/1177 CE, because he wanted to perform Hajj. Ibn Wâṣil said:

> Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil stayed behind in Egypt with the intention of performing Hajj in the following year, and a letter from him reached the sultan in which he said: With regard to his highness's regret for the passage of time without engaging in the obligation (jihad) for which he left home, and the never ending obstacles that he faced, his highness's intention is sound. Isn't Allah aware of His slave? He will not ask the doer about the completion of his action, because that is beyond his control, but He will ask him about his intention because this is what matters with regard to acts of obedience, and (He will ask him) about whether he did his utmost within his abilities. If his highness is preparing all resources for jihad and trying to remove all obstacles that may prevent him from reaching his goal, then he is in a state of constant obedience and Allah has blessed him by making it lengthy. His highness has the hope of achieving what he is trying to achieve at the decreed time, and

the reward will be commensurate with the hardships. Hajj is only regarded as great because of the effort involved and the difficulty entailed. If his highness manages to accomplish great conquests in the first days, and to settle the matter between the polytheists and the Muslims, all the efforts of jihad will have come to an end and the records of righteous deeds attained by watching and waiting will have been brought to a close.[345]

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil: the man of letters

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil was prominent during his lifetime as a man of letters, after whom a school of prose was named, which was known as Madrasat al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil. This earned him lasting fame among the literati and as a capable administrator whose administrative skills put him in the company of brilliant viziers, and as a man who devoted his life to serving the people with whom he came into contact and in jihad to liberate the Muslim lands that had been forcefully occupied by foreign peoples. He played his many roles very well, to such an extent that historians regard him as the ideal man of his era, but many are confused by his literary style. Although it can be difficult to understand, it demonstrates that he was very well read and had a deep knowledge of literature, Hadith, fiqh and other branches of knowledge, as well as a deep understanding of the Qur'an. Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil possessed the largest library of his era; the historians sang its praises and extolled its contents, stating that it contained a hundred thousand volumes. How can this man or his era be described as one of literary decline? This man was not only an administrator and politician, he was also one of the great teachers of his age, who spent his retirement in teaching and educating the new generation. His literary style represented a third way of expression that was unique to

the Arabic language, in addition to the two modes of expression that are common to other literatures, namely poetry and unrhymed prose. Arabic literary expression contains three modes, the first and oldest of which is poetry, which has its origins in the poetry of the times of ignorance (prior to the coming of Islam) and still flourishes today. The second mode is that of unrhymed prose, in which books of history, philosophy, fiqh, uṣool, tafseer and other branches of knowledge mastered by the Arab and Muslim mind were written. The third mode is literary prose; in this category we find the literature of the *maqâmât*[346] and essays which go back to introduction of prose into Arabic literary expression, represented by 'Abd al-Ḥameed al-Kâtib. At the time of al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil and his contemporaries, this was the accepted style of expression, not only from the point of view of eloquence, but also from the point of view of emotional impact. The letters written by al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil and his contemporaries were political and social statements, and *maqâmât* which carried various meanings.[347] What may eliminate any doubt with regard to the literary and linguistic standard of these essays is what they contain of references to literature, wise sayings, proverbs, the Prophet's hadiths and Qur'anic quotations, not to mention the imagery they used to describe current events.[348]

His call for unity after the death of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil held on to his influential status in the land after the death of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. Al-'Azeez 'Uthmân, ruler of Egypt, listened to him and honoured him, and took him as an advisor and consultant. Nonetheless, al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil did not show any willingness or eagerness to interfere in the affairs of state. He preferred to withdraw from the world of politics and devote the

remaining years of his life to his school, al-Fâḍiliyah. Undoubtedly his political withdrawal at this time was due to numerous reasons including: with the death of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, he had lost the man on whom he had pinned all his hopes and during whose time he had reached a high position that no one else could dream of reaching; he had also devoted a large part of his life to advising and guiding him, giving him all he could of love and sincerity until he could hardly bear to be away from him during his life, so how about after his death? He missed Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen to such an extent that after Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen died, al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil lost interest in life which was apparent in the number of letters that he wrote in which he expressed his wish to meet Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in the Hereafter:

> We did not come to this world assuming that we would abide here forever with our loved ones or that death would not visit us, even if it stayed away for a long time. If we miss our loved ones who have departed, days are the stages that bring us closer to them, and our breaths are the steps by means of which we come closer to them. Every day we are moving towards them, every day we are coming closer. How can our grief not grow less when the distance is growing smaller?[349]

No occasion passed without remembering Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. If he saw his acquaintances, he would remember him; if he saw people around him, an image of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would come to mind. In one of his letters, he said to 'Imâd ad-Deen:

> Our consolation is the appointed day of meeting, which is the Day of Judgement; the night we meet is like Laylat al-Qadr. What a good life he lived, and what a good death Allah granted him. If a man is thought highly of despite them (life and death), then for his highness both stages were good. His first life was good, and it is justifiable that hearts beat with love for him and eyes weep for his loss.[350]

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil was no longer the political engine of the state after the death of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. The state was divided, and the work that he used to do at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was divided among several people, among whom were some of whose conduct he had not approved when he was in office, such as Ṣafiy ad-Deen ibn Shukr, the vizier of al-Malik al-'Âdil, and Ḍiyâ' ad-Deen the vizier of al-Malik al-Afḍal, who had tried to keep him away from his father's companions and consultants from the beginning. Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil realized that his career had ended with the death of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, and expressed his feelings in letters to some friends. In one he said:

> I am fed up with life; after having been like the eyes of the one whom I served, I have become like a speck in the eye. Most of life is filled with troubles, but the most burdensome of them is what comes at the end of life, when a man has little strength left.[351]

It may be said that the great dream to which al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil had devoted his life came to an end with the death of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. The country that he had strived so long to unite and strengthen was divided among the sons of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, who began to compete with one another, motivated by their own selfishness and forgetting the enemy which was lying in wait on their borders. He started calling them to form alliances and tried to bridge the gaps between them. He did not let any occasion pass without reminding them of the necessity of uniting. He wrote to al-Malik a<u>dh</u>-<u>Dh</u>âhir, son of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, to offer condolences on the death of his father and to reassure him:

> How things will turn out depends; if an agreement is reached then you will have lost nothing but his noble self (Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen), but if the outcome is otherwise, then that will be the least of future calamities, even though it is a great calamity.[352]

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil also tried to bring about reconciliation between al-'Azeez 'Uthmân ibn Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, the king of Egypt, and al-Afḍal ibn Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen the king of Syria.[353] He tried to support al-'Âdil Abu Bakr, the brother of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, the oldest and most experienced of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's relatives, so that he would stand as firmly against the Crusader danger as his brother had done. In one of his letters (593 AH/1196 CE), he wrote to him:

> The new arrival of the accursed enemy near Beirut and the danger they pose to the country makes every mother forget her child and brings distress and confusion to the people. Islam has a foothold today, but if it slips, then Islam itself will slip; it has ambition, but if it is weakened, victory will not be achieved. That foothold is the foothold of al-'Âdil and that ambition is the ambition of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. I adjure you by Allah to stand firm; throw away your beds and stay up for the sake of Allah, for there is no time to sleep. Do not listen to what anyone is saying, and do not say who is for you or against you, or who came and who passed by. Rather think of yourself as Islam in its entirety that has come out to fight polytheism. Think of yourselves as the shadow of Allah. If you think that way, nothing can erase the shadow of Allah. Be patient, for Allah is with the patient, and do not feel weak. Even though Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen has passed away, Allah is the best supporter. It is no more than a swift battle, then things will become clear; it is just one night, then morning will come; it is the matter of trade, then you will see the profits.[354]

Then he saw some cities fall into Frankish hands again, so he began to feel sad when he saw the beads of the necklace that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had put together beginning to fall apart. His despair and isolation increased, and the numerous sicknesses that al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil had suffered had the effect of keeping him away from the political

field, as he had a weak constitution and suffered from many illnesses. This is what had prevented him from participating in some campaigns when Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was alive, and in his letters there are many references to his sickness and weakness which grew worse after the death of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.[355] In one of his letters to his friend al-'Imâd al-Isfahâni he said:

> Our master knows how the adult is when he loses his child, and how the weak, slow-moving person is when he is called to war. It is as if I did not know the nature of life except during these days, as if I came to this world knowing only that death would take me from it. I have been expecting the decree of Allah to come to me at night when I am sleeping or at mid-morning when I am walking about.[356]

He also wrote to him in one of his letters describing his physical condition:

> I did this mission whilst my feet were affected by gout, which led to them being wrapped up and painted yellow and black with ointment, lying on my side. There is nothing sound in me except my sickness, which is hale and hearty. When I am alone with the devil of disease I scream.[357]

He wrote another letter to him in which he said, "As for my physical condition, do not ask in what bad shape I am; my joints are in pain, my teeth are wrapped in cloth, my gout is boiling, more is like less, more is like a stick in my shadow."[358]

He also described his pain at the end of his life to al-'Imâd by saying:

> The attitude of young men, what do you know about it? It is like a raging fire. I have started to believe that withstanding hardship is better for me than going through the hardship of working for them. So I get hungry but I do not say, "Feed me"; I get thirsty but I do not say, "Give me something to drink"; I

gestured with my hand to say, "Move on," and I stretched out my leg and said, "Pull."[359]

His death

After all this physical pain and mental anguish, al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil died on 6th Rabee' I 596 AH/1199 CE. 'Imâd ad-Deen al-Isfahâni said concerning the events of that year, eulogizing him:

> The great calamity occurred, the disaster for virtuous people concerning both religious and worldly affairs, when al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil departed this transient world for the Hereafter in his house in Cairo.[360]

The night before he died, according to al-Isfahâni, he was working in his school. He sat with the faqeeh Ibn Salâmah, the teacher of the school; he talked to some people and all night he was seen to be more cheerful, smiling more and more outgoing. The gathering was pleasant and the conversation lasted for a long time, and he went home in good physical shape and talkative.

He said to his servant, "Prepare what I need to go to the wash room and tidy my room when I wake up."

The servant came to wake him up before dawn, but al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil did not respond to the servant's voice, and the latter did not realize that the approach of death was preventing him from talking, and that the certainty of purifying himself with the waters of Al-Kawthar[361] meant that he had no need to go to the washroom. His father came to him and found him calm and still, and he realized that the decree was about to come to pass. All that day, nothing was heard from him but a low moaning, which signalled that he had submitted to the will of Allah, then he died blessed.[362] Al-Isfahâni commented on his death thus:

A praiseworthy martyr has died; the decree of Allah has come to pass. He had a good example in the Master of the First and the Last [the Prophet (ﷺ)]. Even though he has passed away, he will live forever with those whose records are preserved in an inscribed book specifically devoted to the pious believers, because he did not leave in life any righteous deed but that he had done it; he did not leave any action that could take him to Paradise but that he had performed it well. His actions in ransoming prisoners and establishing endowments are too many to count, especially the endowments that he established for freeing Muslim prisoners until the Day of Reckoning. He helped Shâfi'i and Mâliki students by opening a school and he helped orphans by opening a religious school and by other charitable good deeds which will keep running for a long time and which will be like a second life for him until the Day of Resurrection, when all people will be resurrected. ...He was with the Sultan (meaning Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, may Allah have mercy on him) in every affair from beginning to end, from when he first established his state until it ended. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did not conquer any region except on his advice.[363]

Al-Ḥâfidh as-Salafi

His full name was al-Ḥâfidh Abu aṭ-Ṭâhir Aḥmad ibn Muhammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muhammad as-Salafi al-Isfahâni.[364] He was one of the eastern scholars who migrated to Egypt and settled in Alexandria, through whom Allah brought much benefit in spreading the madh-hab of Ahl as-Sunnah.

In Alexandria

As-Salafi moved to Alexandria in 511 AH, at the age of thirty-six, having accumulated a great deal of experience, acquired abundant knowledge, and reached a level of specialized intellectual maturity in the field of Hadith, in which he had reached the level of a specialist scholar. He had travelled to many lands and had had the o[illegible]nity to meet many scholars and senior scholars of Hadith, from whom he learned narration, the foundations of Hadith, and Hadith terminology. He narrated many good quotations and useful words from their books, and copied many volumes with his own hand.[365] He was also an experienced writer who had already written a biography of his shaykh in Isfahan, and another of his shaykh in Baghdad.[366] He had previous knowledge of Hadith and teaching, of which he gained practical experience at the beginning of 492 AH in his home town of Isfahan, and also during his stay in Damascus where he worked in teaching from 509 AH to 511 AH. When as-Salafi arrived in Egypt his education was not limited only to Hadith; he was also a faqeeh of the madh-hab of Imam ash-Shâfi'i. He studied fiqh in the Nizamiya College of Baghdad under Shaykhs Alkiya al-Harrâsi, Fakhr al-Islam ash-Shâshi and Yoosuf ibn 'Ali az-Zanjâni. As-Salafi was also well-versed in the different recitations of the Qur'an, which he had studied under the famous scholars of recitation of his time.[367] Adh-Dhahabi said:

> I quoted from al-Ḥâfidh 'Abd al-Ghani al-Maqdisi what the shaykhs said about as-Salafi and that he learned the recitation of 'Âṣim[368] from Abu Sa'd al-Mutarraz; he studied the recitation of Ḥamzah[369] and al-Kisâ'i from Muhammad ibn Abi Naṣr al-Qassâr; he studied the recitation of Qanoon[370] from Naṣr ibn Muhammad ash-Shirâzi; he studied the recitation of Qunbul[371] from 'Abdullâh ibn Aḥmad al-

Khuraqi. He studied with some of them in 491 AH. In addition to as-Salafi's deep knowledge of Hadith, fiqh and recitations before he came to Alexandria, he also had a good grasp of literature and the Arabic language; he had studied all of that in Baghdad under the famous linguist Abu Zakariyâ Yaḥyâ ibn 'Ali at-Tabreezi, the shaykh of literature in Nizamiya College. He was also a poet who enjoyed and appreciated poetry; he loved to listen to it and he ended every gathering in which he taught students of Hadith in Salamâs with a few lines of poetry offering wisdom and advice.[372]

As-Salafi loved Alexandria and its people, and they honoured him. He thought it was a suitable place to live, because he could benefit himself and others there, so he temporarily gave up his intention of leaving it for Andalusia, and decided to adopt it as his place of residence, even if it was only for a short while. This decision of his was in fact due to a number of reasons, in addition to the love and honour that the people of Alexandria showed him, among which were the following:

- The geographical location of Alexandria in the middle of the Muslim world, in particular between the Hijaz in the east and the Maghreb and Andalusia in the west, which made it like a meeting-point for Andalusian and Maghrebi pilgrims who used to rest there for a few days and take a break from the hardships of travel when they were heading to the Hijaz to perform Hajj and on their way back from the Hijaz to their own land. They made the most of their break in Alexandria for their scholars and men of letters to meet the local scholars and men of letters, so they would listen to one another and exchange various types of knowledge, and benefit from one another.
- At the beginning of the sixth century AH, Alexandria was a meeting point for many Syrian scholars whose country had

become the battleground of the Crusades. Some of its cities had fallen into the hands of the Crusaders, such as Jerusalem, Ramlah and many cities on the coast of Palestine,[373] which had forced those scholars to migrate from there.

❖ A large number of Muslim scholars from Sicily had moved to Alexandria after the Normans occupied their island in the second half of the fifth century AH. A number of Andalusian scholars had also moved there in the wake of ongoing political upheavals that were affecting some of the cities of Andalusia. This had motivated many scholars to migrate and seek safety elsewhere, as in the case of the famous Mâliki faqeeh Abu Bakr at-Tartooshi and others.

❖ The people of Alexandria enjoyed freedom of religious belief, compared to the people of Cairo, despite the fact that they were officially under the authority of the Shiite Fatimid caliphate. They were Sunnis of the madh-hab of Imam Mâlik. This relative freedom made those who came to Egypt head towards Alexandria instead of Cairo, to settle there far from the pressures of the Shiite Fatimid madh-hab which contradicted their Sunni beliefs.

These reasons and others initially encouraged al-Ḥâfidh as-Salafi to settle in Alexandria, and he soon put down roots in the city and grew to old age there. Finally he got married — when he was nearly sixty years old — to Sitt al-Ahl of Alexandria. Thus his load grew heavier and he finally gave up the idea of moving on altogether when the governor of Alexandria, al-'Âdil ibn as-Sallâr, built a school for him, al-Madrasah al-'Âdiliyah, and appointed him to supervise it and teach in it. So he settled down and had a good life there; he did not leave this city that he loved and eventually he died there.[374]

His academic activities and his school

Al-Ḥâfidh as-Salafi started to teach Hadith when he first arrived in Alexandria in 511 AH. When the scholar of Hadith of Alexandria at the time, Shaykh Abu 'Abdullâh ar-Râzi, who was known as Ibn al-Khaṭṭâb, died in 525 AH, as-Salafi took his place and thus became the shaykh of Alexandria and its sole, undisputed scholar of Hadith. Then his fame and reputation increased day after day, and the Andalusian pilgrims began to tell people about him everywhere they went. Students of Hadith in Egypt and elsewhere heard about him and travelled to meet him. They came to Alexandria from all parts of the world to meet its great scholar of Hadith and prominent Qur'an reciter. Thus the study and narration of Hadith became very active, and Alexandria attained a prominent position in this field of study. It was said that Alexandria had been like the rest of Egypt: the study of Hadith was little practiced until as-Salafi came to live there, at which point people started travelling to that city to learn Hadith and Qur'an recitations.[375]

Al-Madrasah al-'Âdiliyah as-Salafiyah

As-Salafi continued to give lessons, sometimes in the mosque and sometimes in his house, for about a quarter of a century, until Abul-Ḥasan 'Ali ibn as-Sallâr, who was known as al-Malik al-'Âdil, was appointed as governor of the city. He showed a great deal of interest in him and honoured him more, and built for him a school which was called al-Madrasah al-'Âdiliyah, after its founder al-'Âdil. Then after that it became known as al-Madrasah as-Salafiyah, after its teacher as-Salafi.[376] In his book *A'lâm al-Iskandariyah*, Dr. Jamâl ad-Deen ash-Shayâl states that it was founded in 544 AH.[377] Dr. Ḥasan 'Abd al-Ḥameed Ṣâliḥ states that the school was built in 544 AH.[378]

The historical sources indicate that Ibn as-Sallâr was a Sunni of Kurdish origin,[379] and that he openly showed his Sunni allegiance when he was the governor of Alexandria. Then he began to correspond with Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood, the ruler of Aleppo, seeking his support against the Fatimid authorities. A strong friendship developed between them, and he sent reinforcements, because Ibn as-Sallâr was a Sunni like him, and also because Noor ad-Deen wanted to conquer Egypt.[380] Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood may have suggested to Ibn as-Sallâr in their correspondence that he should implement the same plan as was implemented in Syria to undermine the Shiite Fatimid madh-hab and put an end to it, by building schools. So Ibn as-Sallâr built this school, and put al-Ḥâfidh as-Salafi, the Sunni scholar of Hadith of Alexandria, in charge of running it and teaching in it.[381] Naturally all this happened during Ibn as-Sallâr's governorship in Alexandria and before he was appointed as vizier on the 15th of Sha'bân 544 AH. The Fatimid caliph adh-Dhâhir was afraid and realized the danger posed by Ibn as-Sallâr and the impact that his Sunni school might have by attracting the Sunnis around it, so he was worried and began to plot against him. He appointed as vizier the Shiite Najm ad-Deen ibn Massâl, who was of Maghrebi descent. That angered Ibn as-Sallâr, who was a Sunni, so he gathered his supporters among the Sunni people of Alexandria and marched with them to Cairo, which he entered after the defeat of Ibn Massâl at al-Jazeerah on the 14th of Ramadân 544 AH. We may not be exaggerating if we say that the real reason for the conflict between Ibn as-Sallâr and Ibn Massâl was the conflict between the beliefs of Ahl as-Sunnah, which were supported by Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood, and the Shiite Fatimid madh-hab, which was represented by the Fatimid caliph.[382] The people of Alexandria rejoiced greatly at the founding of this school, and regarded it as a great gift from their governor Ibn as-Sallâr, for which it was their duty to thank him. So their poets began to praise him and express the joy they felt in their hearts.[383]

Al-Ḥâfidh as-Salafi, being in charge of this school, made it into a beacon to bring the Egyptian people back to the beliefs of Ahl as-Sunnah, as well as a meeting place for intellectuals. Scholars and students of Hadith, jurisprudents of fiqh, and of the Qur'ân, men of letters, poets, historians and storytellers used to meet there. It grew and flourished, and a lot of people came to the school and were influenced by the lessons they received there and the meetings, seminars and lectures that were held. Its influence on the people of Alexandria in particular was manifested in two instances: the day they set out with their governor Ibn as-Sallâr to regain the viziership in Cairo and the day they fought alongside Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, supporting him against the Fatimid vizier Shawar and his Crusader allies. They did not let him down or forsake him despite the harsh siege that was imposed on them for three months; they fought side by side with him and put all that they possessed in terms of strength, wealth and men at his disposal, until Shawar and the Crusaders lifted the siege.[384]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi never forgot those good deeds of the people of Alexandria; when he toppled the Fatimid state and established the Ayubid state on its ruins. He paid special attention to Alexandria and took great care of it, because of the importance of its strategic location in defending Egypt, and because of the high esteem in which he held the people of Alexandria due to their support for him in their heroic stance when Shawar besieged their city in 562 AH; they had defended him, giving him all they had of men, wealth and weapons. Hence it comes as no surprise to see Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen issuing orders, from the time he first became sultan of Egypt, that the walls of Alexandria were to be repaired, its watchtowers and citadels were to be fortified and new structures were to be built in the city. Not only that, he also travelled to Alexandria himself in 572 AH to see it for himself and organize its affairs, and he specifically ordered

that its walls and watchtowers be repaired.[385] During this visit, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen checked on the war fleet, and saw the destruction and losses that had affected it, so he ordered that it be repaired and that new ships be built and added to it, allocating a special budget for that and setting up a special department for it, for which he appointed an admiral of the fleet.[386] Alexandria remained the focus of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's attention and care; he ordered that new buildings be constructed and he checked on it and followed news of it, until he had another opportunity to visit it in 577 AH, when he went there and checked for himself what repairs had been made, and inspected the new buildings that he had ordered built, and he ordered that they be completed quickly. Al-'Imâd al-Isfahâni said, describing this visit:

> After Ramadan 577 AH, the sultan went to Alexandria via al-Buhayrah, and camped at as-Sawâri, and he saw the walls that had been rebuilt and the buildings he had ordered to be built, and he issued orders that they be completed.[387] During this visit, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen issued instructions that many new buildings and public facilities be built in Alexandria. He ordered that a large school be built for foreign students, in which they could learn all branches of knowledge and literature; he also built a house for them to stay in, bath houses where they could bathe, and a hospital where they could receive medical treatment for free, supervised by full-time doctors.[388]

Many schools were built in rapid succession in Alexandria during Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's era, in accordance with his general policy of establishing large numbers of schools as an intellectual means of eradicating Fatimid Shiite thought. The number of schools increased in a few years, which attracted the attention of the historians who visited Alexandria and wrote about it. Ibn Khuzaymah, who visited Alexandria in 561 AH/1164 CE and stayed there, described it as follows, "In (Alexandria) there are one hundred and eighty schools

for the pursuit of knowledge."[389] During this second visit, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen ordered that his Grand Mosque be built, and he moved the Friday khuṭbah there, after it had been given during the Fatimid era, in Masjid al-'Aṭṭâreen, the largest mosque in the city.[390] Then he followed that by building a large number of mosques. The number of mosques during this period reached a high number, which attracted the attention of the historians who visited the city. They differed in their estimations of the number, and sometimes reached the point of exaggeration.[391] Ibn al-Jubayr, who visited Alexandria in 578 AH — during Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's era — described the large number of mosques in the city and said:

> It is the land with the greatest number of mosques, although people's estimations of the numbers differ; some of them overestimate and some underestimate. Those who overestimate say there are as many as twelve thousand mosques, and those who underestimate give figures that vary between eight thousand and other figures. In general, there are very many, and you can find four or five in one location. All of them have imams appointed by the sultan.[392]

The Ayubids' interest in developing Alexandria continued after the death of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, and followed the same policy until the end of the sixth century AH.[393]

The distinct character of al-Ḥâfidh Abu aṭ-Ṭâhir as-Salafi

Serious attitude towards life

Al-Ḥâfidh as-Salafi devoted all his life to teaching, study, writing and giving lessons, and there is no report that suggests that he

ever got tired or bored of that. His entire life was serious and strict, as described by his student al-Ḥâfidh 'Abd al-Qâdir ar-Rahâwi, who said:

> I have heard that during his stay in Alexandria, he did not go out to any garden or attend any event for entertainment except on one occasion; instead he stayed in his school. Whenever we entered upon him, we always found him studying something. ...He never saw the lighthouse of Alexandria except through a small window in his house.[394]

Ibn al-'Imâd also described him, saying, "As-Salafi lived in Alexandria for sixty-odd years, focusing on the study of knowledge, reading and collecting books."[395]

His respect for the people who sat with him

He (may Allah have mercy on him) was forbearing, humble and easygoing, and he felt at ease with people and they felt at ease with him. He put up with bad treatment and bore patiently the roughness of strangers. He loved those who came to visit him and showed great warmth to all; he did not spare any effort to benefit them and show kindness and sincerity towards them. Khaleel as-Safadi described him as follows:

> He hardly ever showed any harshness towards anyone; if he did, he would hasten to correct it so that no one would leave him except on the best of terms. Nevertheless, when he was giving a lesson, he would not allow anyone present, no matter how important or prominent they were, to fidget or speak to his neighbour, or to distract others from listening, until he had finished his sentence or finished the idea he was discussing;

> then he would give his audience the opportunity to ask questions or comment.

Al-Ḥâfidh adh-Dhahabi narrated that Sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and his brother attended his circle one day to listen to Hadith narration, and they were speaking to one another in low voices. Their vizier turned to them and showed that he was displeased, and said, "What is this? We are reading the Hadith of the Prophet (ﷺ) and you are talking?" So they fell silent and listened after that.[396]

His love of reading and collecting books

He read a great deal, and was endued with broad knowledge; he always strove hard in the pursuit of knowledge and spent a lot of time researching issues that were unclear. Nothing distracted him when he had finished teaching except reading a book, copying out the books of others, or writing commentaries on them. His student al-Ḥâfidh 'Abd al-Qâdir ar-Rahâwi described him as follows:

> We hardly ever entered upon him but we see him reading something. He loved books very much and was very keen to collect and own books. He had a large collection of various books but he did not have enough time to read them all. When he died, they found that most of them had rotted and the pages had stuck to one another, because of the humidity in Alexandria, which led to many of them being ruined.[397]

And whatever money he got, he would spend it.

His relationship with intellectuals

The study circles, which were held in the mosque initially, then in the schools later on, were a meeting point between him and all

other groups of educated people. Through these circles he was able to establish contacts with a very large number of scholars of Hadith, seekers of Hadith knowledge, intellectuals and men of letters, such as writers, literati and poets, and with senior state officials such as governors, judges and others, and with craftsmen and professionals such as doctors, engineers, merchants, papermakers, bookbinders, imams of mosques, preachers, copyists and muezzins, and with many of the pilgrims from the Maghreb and Andalusia who came to Alexandria on their way to Hajj. As for his relationship with the poets, it was good and was distinguished by kindness and compassion. He felt at ease with them and loved to meet with them and listen to them, and he recited his own poetry on occasions, as he was a poet like them; he composed poetry and he appreciated it and critiqued it. Al-Ḥâfidh adh-Dhahabi described him as: He appreciated poetry, wrote his own, and rewarded those who praised him.[398]

His relationship with common folk

His relationship with the common folk was very good; they held him in high esteem and used to come to him on occasion, seeking blessing from him because of his piety and righteousness. They even exaggerated in their respect for him and believed that there was blessing in him.[399] One of the interesting stories that al-Ḥâfidh adh-Dhahabi narrated in this regard is that the common folk of Alexandria would rush to him, if a woman was having a difficult time giving birth, and he would write some supplications for them on a piece of paper. He would write it for them, and not refuse to do so, and what he wrote was: O Allah, they think highly of me, so do not disappoint them concerning me.[400]

His relationship with the Fatimid state

As-Salafi avoided confrontation with the Fatimid state as much as possible, so that they would not harm him as they had harmed other scholars of Alexandria, or prevent him from teaching Hadith as they had done previously with the scholar of Hadith Abu Is-ḥâq al-Ḥabbâl al-Maṣri.[401] He avoided criticizing them and speaking badly of them so as not to provoke them against him, and they kept away from him and left him alone; some of them even used to attend his study circle and listen to him. One of the factors that helped al-Ḥâfidh as-Salafi to succeed in delivering his message was that during that period (511-567 AH), the Fatimid state was in an advanced state of decline, and the caliphs themselves were weak and had no strength of will and no authority; their affairs and their destiny were controlled by the viziers who were engaged in a power struggle of their own. These viziers were not so keen to take care of the Fatimid madh-hab and protect it as they were to seek control and remain in power, and there were some Sunnis among them.[402] Despite the differences in their madh-habs, those viziers could not care less about the Fatimid madh-hab.[403] As-Salafi's relationship with the Sunni governors of Alexandria who did not follow the Fatimid madh-hab was good; they respected him and loved him, acknowledged his status, attended his lessons and studied with him. The governor Qastah al-Âmiri and as-Salafi were on friendly terms and exchanged letters. In *Mu'jam as-Safar* as-Salafi commented concerning him:

> This Qastah was one of the wise emirs who is inclined towards justice and persists in reading books; he was most interested in history and biographies of the earlier generations. We were on friendly terms with one another and exchanged letters.[404]

Of the deputy governor of Alexandria, Abu ar-Riḍâ' 'Abdullâh ibn al-Faḍl ibn Dulayl al-Ḥaḍrami, as-Salafi noted in his biography:

> He would accompany me and discuss with me issues that were not clear in his mind; he studied Bukhari with me with the commentary of Ibn Battâl, studying it in depth and not merely reading it.[405]

As for the governor of Alexandria al-'Âdil ibn as-Sallâr, he honoured as-Salafi and held him in high esteem as befitted him; the governor ensured a sufficient income for him by establishing an endowment to bring al-Madrasah al-'Âdiliyah an income and cover its expenditure and needs. These are a few examples of the relationships al-Ḥâfidh as-Salafi had with the official statesmen of the Fatimid state. As we can see, they were good relationships in which there was clearly respect, despite the fact that he did not visit any of them in their homes or places of work.[406]

His relationship with the men of the Ayubid state

Al-Ḥâfidh as-Salafi rejoiced greatly at the demise of the Shiite Fatimid state and the establishment of the Sunni Ayubid state on its ruins. From the first moment their state was established, the Ayubids began to call for a return to the beliefs of Ahl as-Sunnah and for the removal of all manifestations of Fatimid beliefs and to scare all those who called for the restoration of Fatimid beliefs or the Fatimid madh-hab. Nevertheless, al-Ḥâfidh as-Salafi did not knock at the door of any of the Ayubid sultans or emirs to congratulate them or thank them, just as he did not knock at the door of any of Fatimid rulers or emirs before them. The Ayubid sultans and emirs appreciated this

behaviour of as-Salafi; they went to him and attended his study-circles and they listened to him just as others did, with all respect and honour. Sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, despite his lofty position and high status as ruler of all Egypt, went himself from Cairo to Alexandria — accompanied by his two sons al-Afḍal 'Ali and al-'Azeez 'Uthmân, his brother al-'Âdil, his secretary al-'Imâd al-Isfahâni and his senior statesmen — to visit him and listen to Hadith from him.[407] Al-Qâḍi Ibn Shaddâd said, describing this visit when speaking of the attitude of Sultân Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and his love of hearing Hadith:

> His highness was very fond of listening to Hadith, and when he heard of a shaykh who had great knowledge of Hadith, if he was one of those who could come to him, he would ask him to come and he would learn from him, and if that shaykh was one of those who do not knock at the door of people of authority but stays away from their gatherings, he would go to him and learn from him. ...He visited al-Ḥâfiḏh as-Salafi in Alexandria many times and narrated many hadiths (he had heard) from him.[408]

Abu Shâmah al-Maqdisi, the author of *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn fee Akhbâr ad-Dawlatayn*, narrated from al-'Imâd al-Isfahâni a detailed description of that visit and said:

> Then the sultan set out from Cairo on Wednesday, the 22nd of Sha'bân, taking with him his two sons al-Afḍal 'Ali and al-'Azeez 'Uthmân. ...Then we reached the city of Alexandria and we went many times to visit Shaykh al-Ḥâfiḏh Abu aṭ-Ṭâhir Aḥmad ibn Muhammad as-Salafi; we continued to go to him regularly and we had the blessing of seeing in his face the light and joy of faith, and we listened to him for three days: Thursday, Friday and Saturday, the fourth of Ramadan. We made the most of the time, and those three days were among the best days of our lives.[409]

One of the interesting things that occurred during that visit was that on one of those days, al-Malik al-'Âdil was next to his brother the sultan; he leaned towards him and whispered something in his ear, and when al-Ḥâfidh as-Salafi saw them, he rebuked them and expressed his displeasure towards them, so they started listening to him.[410]

As-Salafi the poet and his relationship with poets

Al-Ḥâfidh as-Salafi (may Allah have mercy on him) was a poet; he composed poetry and appreciated and critiqued it on a basis of knowledge and skill. He liked to listen to poets and singers, and he gave generously to those who praised him.[411] He loved to listen to and quote poetry, and to hear poetry quoted in his gatherings, and he would repeat the lines that he liked to the people who were with him.

Among the lines of poetry that he liked to quote were:

We show our fear of Allah at the time of every calamity,
then we forget Him when the calamity is over.
How can we hope for an answer to our supplication
when we block its route with our sins?

Some books have recorded for us his conversations with some of the poets; in these stories we can see the emotional impact of poetry and how it stirred in him feelings of longing and nostalgia for his people and his homeland of Isfahan. Abu Muhammad 'Abdullâh ibn Muhammad at-Tajeebi al-Andalusi, who was known as Ibn al-Maleeḥ, said: Abul-Ḥajjâj ibn ash-Shaykh composed some lines of verse for Abu aṭ-Ṭâhir as-Salafi in which he said:

The only fault I have is that I am a stranger
and my people are kept away from me and me from them.

Abu Muhammad ibn al-Maleeḥ recorded:

> Abul-Ḥajjâj said to me, "When Shaykh Abu aṭ-Ṭâhir reached this line, he started to weep and cry, and he shouted at the top of his voice, 'My people are kept away from me and me from them,' out of longing for his homeland Isfahan, and out of nostalgia for those relatives and brothers he had left behind, and he fell unconscious. His students started rebuking me and saying: 'What have you done to us today?' The Shaykh was taken into his house and he did not come out for four days."[412]

His death

On the morning of Friday — or it was said, on the night before — the 5th of Rabee' II 576 AH, the life of as-Salafi came to an end in Alexandria, and his productive life that had lasted for a century ended, a life that he spent in acquiring knowledge, teaching, studying, writing, learning and benefiting others. He had never ceased for a single day, and nothing stopped him; he continued studying and teaching until the last evening of his life.[413] The funeral prayer was offered for him by his friend Abu aṭ-Ṭâhir ibn 'Awf, the Mâliki faqeeh of Alexandria, on Friday afternoon in the mosque of 'Abdullâh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ, and he was buried in the graveyard of Wa'lah which was described as follows by Ibn Khallikân, "It is a graveyard within the walls, by the Green Gate,[414] where a number of the righteous, such as at-Tartooshi and others, are buried."[415]

His grave was visited by famous historians including Abu Shâmah, author of *Kitâb ar-Rawdatayn fee Akhbâr ad-Dawlatayn*, who mentioned that among the events of 576 AH and said: In (this year) al-Ḥâfidh as-Salafi died, and I visited his grave inside the Green Gate.[416]

Al-Ḥâfidh Abu aṭ-Ṭâhir as-Salafi was one of the great scholars. By virtue of his presence, Alexandria acquired global fame in the sciences of Hadith and Qur'an recitation throughout the sixth century AH. The people of Alexandria should be proud of this great scholar and return his favour by teaching the new generation about his status and bringing his name back to memory by naming one of their institutions or schools after him, or publishing his legacy.[417]

Abu aṭ-Ṭâhir ibn 'Awf al-Iskandrâni

The shaykh and imam, Şadr al-Islam, shaykh of the Mâlikis, Ismâ'eel ibn Makki ibn Ismâ'eel ibn 'Eesâ ibn 'Awf ibn Ya'qoob ibn Muhammad ibn 'Eesâ ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Ḥumayd, the son of the Companion of the Prophet (ﷺ), al-Qurashi az-Zuhri al-'Awfi al-Iskandari al-Mâliki, a descendant of 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn 'Awf (رضي الله عنه).[418] He was born in 485 AH and studied fiqh under Professor Abu Bakr at-Tartooshi, and excelled in his studies, surpassing his companions. He narrated *Al-Muwaṭṭâ* from at-Tartooshi and from Abu 'Abdullâh ar-Râzi. He was the imam of his era and unique in his knowledge of fiqh. He was a main source of religious rulings as well as being pious, an ascetic and a devoted worshipper.[419] He was humble: a man of integrity who was above trivial matters.[420] Abu aṭ-Ṭâhir ibn 'Awf witnessed the end of the Shiite Fatimid state and the establishment of the Ayubid state. Şalâḥ ad-Deen visited Alexandria in 577 AH and he was keen during this visit to attend, along with his sons and senior statesmen, the lessons of Abu aṭ-Ṭâhir ibn 'Awf. They all listened to his narration of the *Muwaṭṭâ* of Mâlik from his teacher at-Tartooshi. News of this visit and this listening to *Al-Muwaṭṭâ* was narrated by al-'Imâd al-Isfahâni, who accompanied Şalâḥ ad-Deen during these visits. He said: After the month of Ramadan 577 AH, the sultan headed to Alexandria via al-Buhayrah,

and camped at as-Sawâri, and he saw the walls that had been rebuilt and the buildings that he had ordered be constructed, and he issued orders that attention be paid to that.

The sultan said, "Make the most of the life of Shaykh Abu aṭ-Ṭâhir ibn 'Awf. We visited him and listened to the *Muwaṭṭâ'* of Mâlik which he narrated from at-Tartooshi in the last ten days of Shawwâl; he himself, his sons and all of us listened to it."[421]

Everyone believed that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had done very well to become a student of Ibn 'Awf and listen to him. Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil 'Abd ar-Raḥeem ibn 'Ali al-Baysâni sent an eloquent letter to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in which he congratulated him for this and compared Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's journey with his two sons to listen to *al-Muwaṭṭâ* from Ibn 'Awf to the journey of Hâroon ar-Rasheed[422] with his two sons to hear the same book from its author Imam Mâlik. Here follows the text of this letter:

> May Allah grant long life to his highness al-Malik an-Nâṣir, Ṣalâḥ al-Dunya wal-Deen, the sultan of Islam and the Muslims, the reviver of the office of the Leader of the Believers (the Abbasid caliph); may Allah bless his journey in the pursuit of knowledge and reward him for it, and bring all sorts of goodness to him; may Allah inspire people to give thanks for His blessing for it is a blessing for which no one can give thanks except by His inspiration; may Allah instil the light of faith in his heart, for (the heart) is a place in which nothing can be instilled except that which He instils. How good were these two journeys of his, and what a good two days these were that he spent for the sake of Allah, both of which were filled with bright blessings.
>
> Praise be to Allah, Who has made his days either of two types: a day when he sheds the blood of the inkpot under his pen, or a

day when he sheds the blood of the disbeliever under his banner. In the former case, he is seeking the Hadith of al-Muṣṭafâ (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him), thus making the Hadith prominent and visible, and in the latter case, he is striving to support his guidance over misguidance, thus making misguidance disappear. People need the ambition of the scholars in their journeys to transmit and hear Hadith, and their persistence in seeking out Hadith. They wrote books concerning that with the aim of encouraging people to do likewise and to highlight the high status of those who do so. They said: So-and-so travelled to listen to the *Musnad* of So-and-so; Zayd travelled to 'Amr even though he was so far away. This is when the one who travelled had devoted his entire life to knowledge and had spent his life in pursuit thereof, and his ambition was not distracted by any other high aims. So what about a king who had a great deal on his mind, thinking about the people's affairs as he is always thinking about his own religious commitment, when he travels to attain good (by listening to Hadith) when he is so pressed for time, but he overlooks the most urgent matters for the sake of knowledge, and dedicates some days to that, even though at the time of jihad every single hour and minute counted.

It was unknown for any king to travel in pursuit of knowledge except for Hâroon ar-Rasheed, but he had had two purposes for his trip: to visit the grave of the Prophet (ﷺ) and to seek knowledge. So he took his two sons and travelled to visit Mâlik (may Allâh have mercy on him) and hear *Al-Muwaṭṭâ* from him. So both ar-Rasheed and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had something in common: the desire to hear *Al-Muwaṭṭâ* and travelling for that purpose. Ar-Rasheed asked Mâlik (may Allâh have mercy on him) to give him and his two sons, al-Ameen and al-Ma'moon, a private session in which they could

listen to his book, but he said to him in as many words: It is the Sunnah of your cousin [meaning the Prophet (ﷺ), because the caliph was a descendant of al-Abbâs (رضي الله عنه)]; people other than you tried to conceal it and people like you tried to spread it. And Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen undertook a journey that was second in terms of time, but surpassed it in terms of faith. Allah decreed that his highness should undertake a journey like that of ar-Rasheed, and that his two sons 'Ali and 'Uthmân should play the roles of ar-Rasheed's two sons al-Ma'moon and al-'Ameen.

The original copy of *Al-Muwaṭṭâ*, which ar-Rasheed heard from Mâlik (may Allâh have mercy on him) was in the library of Egypt. If it was there, that would be a great blessing, a great advantage and a great treasure; if not, it should be sought. What Moosâ ibn Ja'far had written of the religious rulings of al-Ma'moon (may Allah have mercy on them both) was also there, and blessings might be sought from both of them, and through them the virtue of knowledge might be appreciated. May his highness never be devoid of Allah's blessing, for all blessing is from Allah and may He grant him good health on his journey, cause his bleeding to stop and relieve him of any distress. You started your journey with all kinds of blessed supplications, narrated from the Master of humankind. The first result of that is physical good health; may you enjoy good health and relief from any distress, and may Allah keep distress away from you always, and cause the bleeding to stop. May Allah cause him to prevail and grant him peace. Another result was that he travelled to hear the *Muwaṭṭâ* of Mâlik (may Allah have mercy on him), and he travelled for the sake of knowledge from Syria to hear *Al-Muwaṭṭâ*, may Allah bless his kingdom, bring about good, ward off harm, and bless his highness wherever he may go, in shâ' Allah.[423]

Since that time, Ibn 'Awf had been held in high esteem by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and he respected him greatly. If he came across any religious or worldly matter, he would send word to him, asking for his opinion and ruling. This is confirmed by the words of Ibn Farhoon: The Sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen Yoosuf ibn Ayub respected Ibn 'Awf and corresponded with him and sought religious rulings from him.[424] As-Safadi, in his book *Nukat al-Ḥamyân*, narrates a story of this correspondence in his biography of al-Qâḍi Sharaf ad-Deen 'Abdullâh ibn Abi 'Aṣroon. This qâḍi became blind at the end of his life when he was still in his post as a judge. A dispute arose as to whether it was permissible for him to remain in his post after becoming blind. Ibn Abi 'Aṣroon himself was very keen to remain a judge, and he wrote an essay in support of the view that it is permissible for a qâḍi to be blind, which was a view held by the minority of jurisprudents and rejected by the majority. It seems that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was keen to please Ibn Abi 'Aṣroon and not hurt his feelings in his old age, so he sent word to Ibn 'Awf seeking his religious ruling on this issue. As-Safadi said: The Sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen wrote in his own hand to al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil saying: The qâḍi says: It is permissible for a blind man to be a judge. Go and meet with Shaykh Abu aṭ-Ṭâhir ibn 'Awf al-Iskandari and ask him about the hadiths which speak of a blind man being a judge.[425] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would accept the opinion and advice of Ibn 'Awf; he hastened to carry out his wishes when he advised him to reinstate the export tax, which was a tax that was imposed on Frankish merchants who were leaving Alexandria, and to distribute what was collected to the jurisprudents of the city.[426] The sources indicate that the activities of Ibn 'Awf were not limited to teaching only; rather he was similarly active in writing. Al-Suyooti said, "He wrote books."[427] Shaykh Abu aṭ-Ṭâhir wrote *Tadhkirah at-Tadhkirah fi Uṣool ad-Deen* and other books.[428] In 581 AH Ibn 'Awf died and was buried in Alexandria. He was ninety-six.[429]

What Abu aṭ-Ṭâhir as-Salafi and Abu aṭ-Ṭâhir ibn 'Awf in terms of seeking knowledge and spreading it among the people, and striving to revive the Sunni madh-hab, is among the greatest kinds of jihad. Devoting oneself to acquiring knowledge and teaching is one of the greatest kinds of jihad for the one whose intention is sound. No other deed can equal it because it is reviving knowledge and religion, guiding the ignorant, calling for good, forbidding evil and achieving a great deal of goodness which people cannot do without.[430]

The pursuit of knowledge is an act which combines a number of acts of worship, one of which is drawing closer to Allah by devoting oneself to it. Most of the imams stated that it is superior to the main acts of worship, and that was at a time when knowledge was flourishing, so how about nowadays when it has diminished and declined? It also involves learning a great deal about the legacy of the Prophet (ﷺ). Moreover, if a person follows a path in the pursuit of knowledge, Allah will make easy for him a path to paradise. The benefit of knowledge reaches the one who acquires it, and it goes beyond him to others; it benefits the one who acquires it whether he is living or dead. If a person's good deeds come to an end when he dies, and the scroll of his good deeds is rolled up, the rewards for good deeds of the scholars continue to increase every time people benefit from their guidance and their words. So the wise man who is guided by Allah should spend the best time of his life on pursuing knowledge and make that the focal point of his life, and regard it as preparation for a Day when he will need rewards for good deeds the most.[431]

'Abdullâh ibn Abi 'Aṣroon

The shaykh, imam, great scholar, brilliant faqeeh and prominent reciter, shaykh of the Shâfi'is, chief qâḍi, scholar of Syria,

Sharaf ad-Deen Abu Sa'd 'Abdullâh ibn Muhammad ibn Hibat-Allâh ibn al-Muṭahhar ibn 'Ali ibn Abi 'Aṣroon ibn Abi as-Sarri at-Tameemi, who was originally from Haditha (in Iraq), al-Mawsili ash-Shâfi'i.[432] Ibn Abi 'Aṣroon was appointed, at the time of Noor ad-Deen, as qâḍi of Sinjar, Nusaybin, Harran and other cities of Diyarbakir, where he became like the chief judge, with deputies in all the cities whom he appointed himself.[433] He was born in Mosul in 492 or 493 AH, and studied with a number of scholars. He moved to Aleppo in 545 AH/1150 CE, then he came to Damascus when Noor ad-Deen entered the city in 549 AH/1154 CE. He taught in the mosque of Aleppo, and settled there, and he wrote many books about fiqh and madh-habs; many students studied under him and benefited from him, and he was a faqeeh of the highest order. He was described as the most knowledgeable in fiqh of his age, and he was an imam for the Shâfi'i madh-hab at that time. He was unique in his knowledge and actions, and was quickly promoted by Noor ad-Deen, who appointed him to supervise the building of schools in Aleppo, Homs, Baalbek and elsewhere. Soon after that he was appointed as judge in Diyarbakir, where he was given far-reaching authority.[434] In 566 AH/1170 CE, he was sent as an envoy to the caliph al-Mustadi' in Baghdad.[435]

'Abdullâh ibn Abi 'Aṣroon and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen knew 'Abdullâh ibn Abi 'Aṣroon very well from the time of Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood Zangi. They had both grown up under his shadow and under his care, especially Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. They were both capable men; one of them worked in the judiciary as a judge, issuing religious rulings, and as a teacher in the field of education, and the other worked in the military field, which

was his main focus. The course of events from the time of Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood Zangi indicates that the relationship between the two men was good, dominated by a spirit of affection and respect. They knew one another well and showed mutual respect. The evidence for that is a letter that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sent from Egypt to Ibn 'Aṣroon in Syria, probably choosing him in particular over others as an acknowledgement of his ability to influence events. Hence his letter carried in its lines a kind of rebuke, expressing the hope that he would do his utmost to cause the failure of a treacherous deal. 'Abdullâh ibn Abi 'Aṣroon did not approve of this pact, and was probably suffering mental anguish because of what had befallen the Muslims due to their weakness; indeed he preferred Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen to come from Egypt so that they could work together in complete harmony to put an end to such pacts and move on to achieve the stated goal, which was to expel the Crusaders who were occupying Muslim lands in Greater Syria.[436] It seems that Ibn Abi 'Aṣroon was in favour of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen coming from Egypt to Syria after the death of Noor ad-Deen and the disputes among the emirs after that. This idea is supported firstly by the fact that he did not sign the deal, and in this regard he was like the other emirs of Syria, and like the judges in particular, and he was one of the prominent figures in society. Secondly, he took a stand against the emirs who continued their opposition to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi and strove to prevent him from coming to Syria, which is why Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen appointed him to the judiciary in Egypt.[437] Nevertheless, 'Abdullâh ibn Abi 'Aṣroon went from Damascus to Aleppo with al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ismâ'eel ibn Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood Zangi before Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen came to Damascus, but it was not long before he returned to Damascus, where Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was. That was in 572 AH, when Kamâl ad-Deen ash-Shahrazoori, the qâḍi of Syria at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, was dying. Indeed he was one of those who washed and shrouded him, and was foremost among those who attended his funeral.[438]

Appointment of Ibn Abi 'Aṣroon as judge

When Kamâl ad-Deen ash-Shahrazoori realized that his end was near, he delegated the judicial affairs of Greater Syria to his nephew Abul-Faḍâ'il al-Qâsim ibn Yaḥyâ ibn 'Abdullâh who was known as Ḍiyâ' ad-Deen, and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen could not do anything but agree to this appointment, because Ḍiyâ' ad-Deen was qualified to serve as a judge, although the position of judge is a high position which should not be passed down by means of inheritance.[439] Kamâl ad-Deen ash-Shahrazoori had played a role in setting the scene for Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's reception in Damascus because he believed that he was more qualified than the other emirs to stand up to the Crusader enemy. This was one of the glorious actions that are to the credit of Kamâl ad-Deen ash-Shahrazoori, as he put the general interests of the Muslims before all else, and preferred Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen over all other emirs in Syria, who had signed a peace deal with the Crusader enemy.[440] This will be discussed in detail below, in shâ' Allah.

But after the death of Kamâl ad-Deen ash-Shahrazoori, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was inclined to appoint Ibn Abi 'Aṣroon to the judiciary for the following reasons:

(i) 'Abdullâh ibn Abi 'Aṣroon's strength of character, in terms of his great knowledge and the high esteem in which he was held, and his position as shaykh of the Shâfi'i madh-hab of his era. Most of his contemporaries bore witness to that.[441]

(ii) Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's love and respect for the followers of the Shâfi'i madh-hab, especially since he was himself a Shâfi'i, to the point of fanaticism on occasion, and he wanted to unite the state on the basis of the Shâfi'i madh-hab.

(iii) Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had taken 'Abdullâh ibn Abi 'Aṣroon under his wing when he came to Damascus and given him authority as

qâḍi of Egypt, as al-Maqreezi stated, in 570 AH. The fact that he sent him a letter urging him to abolish the peace deal that Damascus had made with the Crusaders in the same year[442] is evidence that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had a great deal of love and respect for him, and wished that he would become the qâḍi; indeed the letter is regarded as having paved the way for his selection in the future.

(iv) Moreover, the relationship between Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and 'Abdullâh ibn Abi 'Aṣroon was so strong that it was Ibn Abi 'Aṣroon who arranged the marriage between Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and al-Khatoon 'Ismat ad-Deen, the daughter of the emir Ma'een ad-Deen Anar, who had been the wife of Sultan Noor ad-Deen before his death, and who was living in the Citadel of Damascus in 572 AH.[443]

(v) There were important personages in the state of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen who preferred for the position of chief qâḍi of Syria to be given to 'Abdullâh ibn Abi 'Aṣroon, such as al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil whose relationship with him was distinct; Ibn Abi 'Aṣroon often addressed him in his correspondence as "Mujeer ad-Deen (the protector of the Faith) al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil" as an indication of the high esteem in which he held him.[444] Another was the faqeeh 'Eesâ al-Ḥakâri, one of the emirs of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, who had studied under 'Abdullâh ibn Abi 'Aṣroon and was inclined to favour his teacher and hoped to see him as the chief judge of Syria.[445] Undoubtedly these two people had a great influence on making Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen favour 'Abdullâh ibn Abi 'Aṣroon and appoint him as the qâḍi.[446]

(vi) The plan of 'Abdullâh ibn Abi 'Aṣroon and his helpers who began to tell everyone that Ḍiyâ' ad-Deen was going to be dismissed and might be harmed, so he found himself in a critical position which prompted him to err on the side of

caution and offer his resignation from the post of judge, which was accepted with alacrity[447] and with no hesitation. This shows us that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was inclined towards 'Abdullâh ibn Abi 'Aṣroon, even though he did not want to put pressure on Ḍiyâ' ad-Deen and dismiss him.[448] Whatever the case, all these reasons together set the scene for Sharaf ad-Deen ibn Abi 'Aṣroon to be appointed as the chief qâḍi of all regions of Greater Syria that were under the control of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi in 573 AH.[449] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen also stipulated with regard to this appointment that Muḥiy ad-Deen Abul-Ma'âli Muhammad ibn Zaki ad-Deen and al-Awhad Dâwood should be the deputies of Kamâl ad-Deen ash-Shahrazoori, acting as judges under his authority, but their appointment had to be signed by the sultan himself.[450]

Academic output of Ibn Abi 'Aṣroon

Ibn Abi 'Aṣroon was a unique character. The author of *An-Nujoom adh-Dhâhirah* described him as a virtuous imam and writer.[451] As-Subki, the author of *Tabaqât ash-Shâfi'iyah*, described him as, "A resident of Damascus and chief judge thereof, its scholar and most prominent figure."[452] Muwaffaq ad-Deen Ibn Qudâmah al-Maqdisi said of him: "He was the imam of the Shâfi'is of his age." Ibn as-Ṣalâḥ described him as the most learned of the people of his age, and the ultimate authority for rulings.[453] Al-'Imâd al-Isfahâni described him as:

> Ḥujjat al-Islam, the mufti of Iraq and Syria, the shaykh of knowledge and great scholar. With his religious rulings he supported Islam and all respect and honour are due to him. No one of our era who studied the Shâfi'i madh-hab under him reached his level; his virtue was established everywhere. He wrote books of great benefit based on great knowledge.[454]

Among the books written by Ibn Abi 'Aṣroon were: *Safwat al-Madh-hab fi Nihâyat al-Maṭlab,* in 7 volumes; *Al-Intiṣâr* in four volumes; *Al-Murshid*, in two volumes; *Al-Dharee'ah fee Ma'rifat ash-Shari'ah* in one volume; *At-Tayseer*, which dealt with controversial issues, in four volumes; *Ma'âkhidh an-Nadhr*; *Mukhtasar al-Farâ'id*; *Irshâd al-Mugharrab fi Naṣrat al-Madh-hab*, which he did not complete, and was lost with what was lost of his works in Aleppo.[455] He also wrote other works including *at-Tanbeeh fi Ma'rifat al-Aḥkâm*, *Fawâ'id al-Muhadhdhab* (2 volumes),[456] *al-Mawâfiq wal-Makhâlif,*[457] *Fawâ'id al-Mundhiri* (2 volumes). He also wrote a book on the permissibility of a blind man serving as a judge.[458]

In *Hidâyah al-'Ârifeen*,[459] al-Baghdadi added: *Fatâwa wa Musalsalât fil-Ḥadeeth.*[460]

Literary output of Sharaf ad-Deen ibn Abi 'Aṣroon

Sharaf ad-Deen was famous in the areas of fiqh, uṣool, controversial issues, religious rulings and judicial matters, and also in the field of literature. He was a poet and man of letters from whom al-'Imâd al-Isfahâni and others transmitted many lines of poetry which reflect warm emotions, vivid imagination and deep experience of life.[461] Examples of his poetry include the couplet:

Every gathering ends up being scattered,
every good time is contaminated with something to spoil it...[462]

The personality of Ibn Abi 'Aṣroon was unique because he combined many talents which had an impact on the fields of judicial matters, rulings, politics, administration, diplomacy and international relations. He enjoyed sufficient knowledge and literary ability to

qualify him to be appointed to the highest positions as a judge, emissary and the shaykh of the Shâfi'is of his era.[463]

Taking good news to the Abbasid caliph

One of the great missions undertaken by the qâḍi Sharaf ad-Deen Ibn Abi 'Aṣroon was conveying the good news to the Abbasid caliph in 567 AH/1171 CE that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had put an end to khuṭbahs being given in the name of the Fatimid caliph al-'Âdid and had ordained that they be given in the name of the Abbasid caliph al-Mustadi' Billâh. He also sent with him a copy of this good news that was to be read out in every city he passed through. Until he reached Baghdad, he did not leave any city he passed but he entered it and read out this proclamation of great importance, until his caravan reached Baghdad and all the people of that city came out to honour him, in recognition of that great news which he brought. They showed him great honour and respect, and gifts were sent to Noor ad-Deen and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.[464] Al-Qâḍi Sharaf ad-Deen ibn Abi 'Aṣroon continued to play a part in political life, contributing his knowledge and opinions, and serving as Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's emissary to the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad, until the battle of Hattin in 583 AH/ 1187 CE. The historians confirmed that he took part in this great battle in which Allah granted the recapture of most of the coastal cities of Syria and Jerusalem.[465]

'Abdullâh ibn Abi 'Aṣroon becomes blind

Sharaf ad-Deen ibn Abi 'Aṣroon remained a qâḍi, judging according to Sharia, until 577 AH, when he became blind and lost his sight. The people said that he was not qualified to be a judge and doubted his credentials.[466] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen found himself in a difficult

situation, and faced with a problem of fiqh. He did not want to hurt the feelings of his companion who had lost his sight by dismissing him from the post of judge but at the same time he was hearing the opinions of jurisprudents who criticized keeping Ibn 'Aṣroon in his post because he was no longer qualified. Sharaf ad-Deen ibn Abi 'Aṣroon confronted the problem himself and wrote a book about the permissibility of a blind man serving as a judge, disagreeing with the majority of jurisprudents.

The foundation of Ibn Abi 'Aṣroon's argument that it was permissible for a blind man to serve as a judge was an opinion expressed in *Jam' al-Jawâmi'* by ar-Ruwayâni; Sharaf ad-Deen ibn Abi 'Aṣroon adopted this view and wrote a book based on it, and he remained a judge when he became blind. The argument of the majority was based on the idea that a blind man could not recognize the disputants or witnesses, so how could he judge properly concerning an issue that was put to him? The argument of those who regarded it as permissible was that Shu'ayb, the Prophet of Allah, was blind, and if he was a Prophet who was sent by Allah then it was more appropriate that a qâḍi should be able to remain in his post, because a Prophet is nobler than a qâḍi, as Allah has given him precedence over others. In opposition to this, it was said that it was not proven that Shu'ayb was blind, and even if we accept that he was blind, the number of people who believed in him was small, so perhaps there was no need for him to judge between them. If we assume that they needed that, revelation would have come to the Prophet Shu'ayb (ﷺ) and guided him to a decisive judgement, and that is not available to a qâḍi because no revelation comes to him.[467]

In the face of this problem, in which Sharaf ad-Deen ibn Abi 'Aṣroon stood alone on one side and all the jurisprudents of Syria stood on the other, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was very frustrated. What should he do? Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen turned to al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil, who was in Egypt at

that time, and sent word to him, asking him for help to solve this problem by contacting Shaykh Abu Ṭâhir ibn 'Awf al-Iskandari and asking him what was narrated in the hadiths about a blind man serving as a qâḍi,[468] in the hope that he would find a solution to the problem for which he could not find an answer. Soon the reply came from al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen:

> There could be only one of two answers, and may Allah choose for his highness the best option and help him to solve this problem that no Muslim king would be able to solve. Either the post could be left in the name of the father, so that his opinion may be consulted and his fatwas and blessing sought, whilst appointing his son to act as his deputy, on condition that he be penalized and dismissed for the first error he made, or the matter must be delegated to Imam Quṭub ad-Deen who was the last of the senior shaykhs and the most prominent among our companions, so no one in any land should take precedence over him except one who was more qualified in knowledge than he.[469]

In this answer, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen found a way out which left no room for any criticism. So he kept Sharaf ad-Deen as the head judge and delegated matters to his son Muḥiy ad-Deen Abu Ḥâmid Muhammad ibn Sharaf ad-Deen, on the condition that his father should be the real judge, and it would appear to the people that he was his father's deputy, and it would not appear as if his father had been dismissed from his post as judge. Thus Sharaf ad-Deen ibn Abi 'Aṣroon continued to be the chief judge of Syria and his son acted as his deputy, because he defended himself and researched thoroughly in the books of fiqh and derived evidence to demonstrate the permissibility of a blind man serving as a judge. Moreover Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen stood by his side and his friend al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil supported him on the basis of truth.[470]

The death of Ibn Abi 'Aṣroon

Al-Qâḍi Ibn Abi 'Aṣroon died on 11th Ramadân 585 AH.[471] When the news reached al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil in Egypt, he wrote a letter on this occasion eulogizing Sharaf ad-Deen, in response to the letter that had brought this news to him from Syria:

> I received a letter from your honourable person, may Allah grant you peace of mind and cause your family to be happy with you, and guide you to all goodness and make all your words and deeds be for the sake of Allah. In it was news which undermines Islam and more, which may lead to collapse, namely the news of what Allah has decreed of the death of Imam Sharaf ad-Deen Ibn Abi 'Aṣroon, may Allah have mercy on him, and that great calamity that has resulted from his death of reducing the land from its outlying borders *(Qur'an 13: 4)* and the grief of the Muslims and the rejoicing of their enemies. He was a banner of knowledge, following in the footsteps of the righteous first generations; he spread knowledge in Syria and everyone who benefited from his knowledge did so because of his efforts. May Allah be pleased with him and bestow abundant mercy upon him. He has not died who left all these books behind which are full of benefits; rather he has not died who left behind a son like al-Muḥiy. This, by Allah, is the legacy and benefit that he has left behind. I was sorely grieved not to be present when he was on his deathbed, and not to be standing there to pray to Allah as he was dying. Allah knows how much distress I felt for losing him, and how lonely I felt because the world is bereft of him, and how concerned I am at the loss of the supplications that he used to offer for me. But praise be to Allah, he did not die until he had raised righteous sons and taught seekers of knowledge, and built schools and

mosques, and filled his days and nights with prayer, bowing and prostrating. This is his legacy. He lives on and it is rather we who are dead because of losing him.[472]

The faqeeh 'Eesâ al-Ḥakâri

His full name was Ḍiyâ' ad-Deen Abu Muhammad 'Eesâ ibn Muhammad ibn 'Eesâ al-Ḥakâri, one of the emirs of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's state, on whom the sultan was relying for advice and consultation. He taught fiqh in *al-Madrasah az-Zujâjiyah* in the city of Aleppo. He contacted the emir Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh, the paternal uncle of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, and became his imam, leading him in the five obligatory prayers. When Asad ad-Deen went to Egypt and became the vizier, 'Eesâ accompanied him. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen used to consult him and follow his advice, and he was so close to him that he talked to him in a manner that no one else could; his intermediation between Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and the people was in their interests.[473]

His support for Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's viziership

After Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was appointed vizier by the caliph al-'Âdid, some of the emirs of Noor ad-Deen who had wanted the viziership for themselves objected to that and refused to obey Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen or serve under him.[474] The situation almost led to conflict among Noor ad-Deen's forces in Egypt, were it not for the role played by the faqeeh 'Eesâ al-Ḥakâri, who was one of the Kurdish. He began to strive hard to unite these emirs around Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, using all kinds of incentives and punishments, but 'Ayn ad-Dawlah al-Yarooqi preferred to go back to Syria to serve Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood, rather than serve under Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's authority.[475] Thus the great role played by the faqeeh 'Eesâ al-Ḥakâri in

supporting Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in his viziership becomes clear. By means of his strength of character and smartness he was able to pave the way for Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen when he was first appointed so that he could devote his energy to that which was more important than these conflicts, namely the greater jihad against the Crusaders.[476]

Resolving the misunderstanding between Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and Noor ad-Deen

It is due to Shaykh 'Eesâ al-Ḥakâri that the misunderstanding between Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and the sultan Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood was resolved, when Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen excused himself from marching to the fortress of Kerak, as Noor ad-Deen commanded him to do; Noor ad-Deen accepted the intervention of al-Ḥakâri and gave him a letter to take to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, in which he stated: Protecting Egypt is more important to us than anything else.[477] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen relied on him with regard to many matters, such that al-Faqeeh 'Eesâ became one of the greatest emirs of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. The latter respected his knowledge, wisdom and advice; he consulted him a great deal with regard to matters of ruling, and never went against what he advised.[478]

His role in reaching a peace deal with the people of Mosul

After that, events unfolded which confirmed the importance and status of this faqeeh in the state of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi. That became clear in 578 AH/1182 CE, when Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen wanted to besiege Mosul and take it back from its ruler, the atabeg 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood, and incorporate it into the Islamic front, in order to

guarantee that it would stand with him against the Crusaders in his decisive battle with them. But after many clashes between the two sides, the Abbasid caliph intervened and sent Ṣadr ad-Deen, the Shaykh of Shaykhs, as an intermediary acting on his behalf, to bring about a reconciliation between the two sides.[479] Ṣadr ad-Deen sent word to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, asking him to send some of his most trusted men to attend peace talks between the two sides. The sultan requested al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil and al-Faqeeh 'Eesâ to attend and inform him of what they heard from Ṣadr ad-Deen. So they went and met with the Shaykh of Shaykhs, and both of them discussed the matter on behalf of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, until a deal was reached between the two sides, and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen lifted the siege from Mosul, and Muslim blood was thus spared.[480]

Negotiations with the vizier of Khallât

In 581 AH/1185 CE, al-Faqeeh 'Eesâ undertook another diplomatic mission, when the sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi sent him to negotiate with the vizier of Khallât on his behalf. After the death of Shah Arman Sakmân the ruler of Khallât, his Mameluke Sayf ad-Deen Baktamar took over the city, and al-Bahlawân the atabeg of Shams ad-Deen Muhammad ibn Eldakaz, the ruler of Persia, marched towards him to seize Khallât from him. The vizier of Khallât, whose name was Majd ad-Deen ibn al-Muwaffaq ibn Rasheeq, was also hoping to take over the city. He sent word to the sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi, asking him to intervene and put an end to these conflicts. The sultan sent al-Faqeeh 'Eesâ al-Ḥakâri on this diplomatic mission, to hold discussions with all sides. The vizier of Khallât spoke with al-Faqeeh 'Eesâ, asking him to hasten the arrival of the Sultan, before al-Bahlawân arrived. In fact the sultan had left Mosul and was on his way to Khallât. When al-Bahlawân

found out about these developments and the determined stance adopted by al-Faqeeh 'Eesâ in support of the vizier of Khallât, and his urgent message to the sultan, al-Bahlawân became afraid and sought a peace deal with the vizier of Khallât so that he could return to his own country. A peace deal was made and an end was put to the conflict, by means of the wisdom of al-Faqeeh 'Eesâ who succeeded in this mission and opened the door to friendly relations between the two sides.[481]

A man of special missions

In 582 AH/1186 CE, the sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen made a number of changes in Egypt and Syria, especially with regard to his deputies in various cities. He was seeking reassurance about the future of the land after his death on the one hand, and he wanted no disputes among his sons. In addition, he wished to train them in how to run the country during his lifetime and to protect the land from division on the other hand, especially since he was preparing himself to enter into a decisive battle in his jihad against the Crusaders. When news reached him that his nephew Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar — his deputy in Egypt along with his son al-Malik al-Afḍal — had behaved in a manner which suggested that he wanted to gain full control in Egypt during his uncle's sickness when the latter was in Harran, he sent al-Faqeeh 'Eesâ al-Ḥakâri, who was held in high esteem by his nephew and was obeyed by the troops, to Egypt, and ordered him to expel Taqi ad-Deen from that land and stay there himself.[482] Al-Faqeeh 'Eesâ hastened to obey the command and headed for Egypt to carry out these orders. He stayed there until al-'Âdil, the brother of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, arrived, accompanied by his son al-'Azeez 'Uthmân ibn Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. This is indicative of the great trust that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had in al-Faqeeh 'Eesâ al-Ḥakâri, and the extent to which he felt at

ease with him, especially since he knew how great an influence al-Ḥakâri had on the troops of Egypt.[483]

His courage in the wars against the Crusaders

After things settled down, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen started his jihad on the Syrian front, joined by many volunteers among the fuqaḥa' and 'ulema', foremost among whom was al-Faqeeh 'Eesâ al-Ḥakâri, who took part in his jihad against the Crusaders in practical terms, bearing weapons and fighting in battle as a fighter for the sake of Allah, wearing military dress with the turban of a faqeeh and thus combining the two styles of dress.[484] The Islamic sources prove this practical participation of this faqeeh in jihad. When he went out with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in 573 AH/1177 CE to fight the Crusaders at Ascalon, he raided it, killed many Crusaders, took many prisoners and burned everything around it. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen continued, with his entourage, until he reached Ramlah, where he captured many prisoners and seized a lot of booty. Then when the army was distracted by the booty and scattered in the villages and areas around the city, and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen stayed behind with a small number of his troops, the Crusaders launched a sudden attack and the Muslims got confused. They began fighting, but they were defeated, and many of them were killed or taken prisoner, and al-Faqeeh Ḍiyâ' ad-Deen 'Eesâ al-Ḥakâri and his brother Dhaheer ad-Deen were among those who were taken captive. Ibn al-Atheer mentions with regard to this matter that he was one of those who fought the hardest on that day.[485] One sign of the high esteem in which al-Faqeeh 'Eesâ al-Ḥakâri was held by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi, which was mentioned by the historians, is the fact that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen ransomed him from captivity two years later for the sum of sixty thousand dinars.[486] The historians add that not only did Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen pay money to ransom al-Faqeeh al-Ḥakâri; he also

released a large number of Knights Hospitaller[487] whom he was holding captive. This is indicative of the great esteem in which al-Faqeeh al-Ḥakâri was held by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi.[488] Al-Faqeeh 'Eesâ died in 858 AH.[489]

Zayn ad-Deen 'Ali ibn Naja

With regard to the attitudes and actions of some of the jurisprudents and 'ulema' at the beginning of the Ayubid state, it is worth mentioning the great keenness they showed in 569 AH/1174 CE for the soundness and security of the state, and their eagerness for it not to become divided, lest the enemies of Islam and the Muslims should get their hopes up. That was seen when some of the Shiite in Egypt engaged in a conspiracy aimed at restoring the Fatimid caliphate after it had been toppled by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in 567 AH/1171 CE. Their plan was to summon the Crusaders from Sicily and Syria to come to Egypt and help them, in return for money and land. Their plan was that when the Crusader forces arrived and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen went out to meet them, the conspirators would light the fires of revolt in the land, and the sultan would then be caught between two traps: internal revolt and the Crusader attack from outside, which would scatter his forces along two fronts and lead to his defeat by the Crusaders on one hand and the conspirators who were seeking to gain control on the other. Foremost among these conspirators were the Shiite faqeeh and poet, 'Amârah ibn Abil-Ḥasan al-Yamani,[490] 'Abd al-Samad al-Kâtib, al-Qâḍi Ḥibbat-Allah ibn 'Abdullâh al-'Uwayris and others among the Egyptian troops, black soldiers and the palace retinue, in addition to some of the emirs and troops of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.[491] Undoubtedly these plans were a blatant act of betrayal on the part of some of the Shiite, who sought the help of the Crusaders to fight the Muslims in order to achieve personal gains and to

undermine the Sunni Islamic state of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen which was fighting the enemies of the faith. This betrayal even went so far as enticing the Crusaders with offers of money to come to Egypt, instead of confronting and fighting them.[492]

But Allah willed that the conspiracy should be uncovered at the hands of a cleric, one of the smart and sincere jurisprudents who understood where the interest of Islam lay and who cared about the unity of the Islamic front. His name was Zayn ad-Deen 'Ali. Ibn al-Atheer tells us:

> By the kindness of Allah towards the Muslims, the Egyptian group asked Zayn ad-Deen 'Ali ibn Naja, the preacher and qâḍi who was known as Ibn Najiyah, to join them.[493] They appointed a caliph, vizier, preacher and judges.[494] When al-Qâḍi Ibn Naja joined them and realized the seriousness of what they were trying to achieve, he told Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen all the details of the conspiracy. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen asked him to make a show of sympathy with them and to go along with whatever they wanted him to do, and to keep him up to date with what was going on. He did that, and kept him informed of everything they were up to.[495] Based on that, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen managed to find out the details of the conspiracy. When an envoy from the Frankish king of the coast came with a gift and a letter, he appeared outwardly to be coming to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, but secretly he had come with a message to that group. He sent some of the Christians to them, and their messenger came to him. News had reached Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen from the Frankish lands of what was going on, so he appointed a Christian whom he trusted to spend time with that messenger and keep an eye on him, and the messenger told that Christian man exactly what was going on.[496] When Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was certain of the veracity of the reports he was receiving from al-Qâḍi Ibn Naja,

> and with the aim of averting disaster before it was too late, he ordered the arrest and execution of all those conspirators, and thus the conspiracy was silenced.[497]

Then the sultan brought Zayn ad-Deen 'Ali ibn Naja close to him and treated him kindly, awarding him gifts and a stipend, and rewarded him generously, giving him all he wanted and more. The sultan would consult him and ask his advice, and he was fond of him because he had known him for a long time and knew of his good character.[498] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen called Ibn Naja " 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ'[499]" and followed his advice because of his wisdom and smartness. Many of the state officials and prominent Sunnis in Egypt would not go against the advice of Zayn ad-Deen ibn Naja. Al-Mâlik al-'Azeez 'Uthmân ibn Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen said to him: If you have any idea that could achieve something good, then write it for me, for I will not do anything other than what you advise.[500] Sibt ibn al-Jawzi stated that Ibn Naja became active in preaching and teaching the Hadith, and that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and his children used to attend his audiences and listen to his exhortations, and he had high status and was well respected.[501] When Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen went out to fight the Crusaders in Syria, he used to send letters to Zayn ad-Deen ibn Naja, describing events.[502] For example, when he conquered the citadel of Homs in 570 AH/1174 CE, he wrote to him, describing the citadel, in a lengthy letter.[503] When Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen decided to settle in Syria in 580 AH/1184 CE, Ibn Naja wrote him a letter trying to evoke nostalgia in him for Egypt with its Nile, goodness, mosques and historical sites, then he mentioned the virtues of Egypt, quoting as evidence Qur'ânic verses, reports and literary passages. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen responded with a letter — which was quoted by Sibt ibn al-Jawzi and Abu Shâmah — in which he told him that living in Syria was better and that its climate was more pleasant, and that Allah has sworn by it in the Qur'ân; he rebuked him for not longing for his

homeland of Damascus and invited him to move there. Then he ended his letter with the words:

> May Allah guide Zayn ad-Deen. He mentioned Syria but was not content for Syria to be equal to other lands; rather he started to list its disadvantages. I hope that he and the people around him will come back to the truth, if Allah wills.[504]

Whatever the case, Ibn Naja continued to work with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen until he entered Jerusalem with him as a conqueror and gave the first lesson in al-Masjid al-Aqṣâ,[505] as we shall see below in shâ' Allah. Abul-Ḥasan 'Ali ibn Ibrâheem ibn Naja al-Hanbali, who was known as Zayn ad-Deen, died in 599 AH.[506]

'Imâd ad-Deen al-Isfahâni

The qâḍi, imam, great scholar, mufti, chancellor and vizier, 'Imâd ad-Deen Abu 'Abdullâh Muhammad ibn Ḥâmid ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abdullâh ibn 'Ali ibn Maḥmood ibn Ḥibbat al-Isfahâni, the scribe, came to Baghdad and stayed at an-Nizâmiyah, where he excelled in fiqh, studying under Abu Manṣoor Sa'eed ibn ar-Razzâz. He became proficient in Arabic and was top of the class inthe art of letter writing. He wrote many books and became famous.[507] He made contact with Ibn Hubayrah, then he went to Damascus in 562, where he made contact with the state officials and worked in the chancery of al-Malik Noor ad-Deen. He wrote in Farsi too, and Noor ad-Deen sent him as an envoy to al-Mustanjid, and appointed him to teach in al-'Imâdiyah in 567, then he employed him in the department. After Noor ad-Deen died, he was neglected, so he went to Mosul where he fell sick, then he came back to Aleppo when it was being besieged by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in 570. He praised him and joined his retinue, then Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen appointed him as a scribe and

brought him close to him. Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil would stay in Egypt to do some tasks, and al-'Imâd would act in his stead.[508] Al-'Imâd became al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil's assistant in all his affairs, and he regained his old status, becoming the confidential scribe of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.[509] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen appointed him as his scribe, trusted him and brought him close, and he became one of his inner circle, making decisions, sharing out the wealth that the sultan gave to him, signing what the sultan signed without consulting him, meeting the needs of the people who came to him, competing at the same level with the viziers and prominent state officials, even though he did not attain the same high status with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen as al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil did. Al-'Imâd spent more time with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen than al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil, who spent a lot of time away from the sultan and stayed in Cairo and Damascus to carry out some tasks given to him by the sultan. At the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen he wrote many letters and official announcements, and joined various consultative councils.[510]

When the sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen died in 589 AH, al-'Imâd's fortunes declined and his situation grew worse. The sons of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did not treat him as their father had done, and they dismissed him from his post. Concerning that, al-'Imâd commented in his introduction to *Sanâ al-Barq ash-Shâmi*:

> When Allah the Most Generous took him unto paradise, his sons divided his kingdom and I said to myself, "They are following in his footsteps and doing what he did; they appreciate my status and will promote me to a higher rank and keep my happy; they will not undervalue me." But they disappointed me, cutting me off and casting me aside, excluding me from their lives.[511]

After the death of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, the authors who wrote biographies of al-'Imâd al-Isfahâni do not mention anything about him. Yaqoot said: He stayed in his home and focused on writing

books and teaching people.[512] Ibn Khallikân stated that he stayed in his house and focused on research and writing books.[513] It seems that after this period, al-'Imâd went back to researching and writing, which is clear from the letter that al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil sent to him from Egypt in 595 AH, complaining of his life of isolation in Egypt and regarding al-'Imâd's ability to focus on research and writing as a blessing for which he should be grateful. He said:

> Allah knows I am so isolated, but it is not the quiet corner that is recommended for the sane man at times of insanity. We are waiting for the Syrian lightning[514] to bring rain and definitely we will not be disappointed. The preoccupation of our master at this time with study and teaching and writing is a blessing for which scholars should give thanks and jurisprudents should feel joy.[515]

Al-'Imâd died on a Monday at the beginning of Ramadân 597 AH/5 July 1121 CE, and was buried in the Sufi graveyard outside Bâb al-Naṣr.[516]

Al-Khabooshâni

The great faqeeh and ascetic, Najm ad-Deen Abul-Barakât Muhammad ibn Muwaffaq ibn Sa'eed al-Khabooshâni, the Shâfi'i and Sufi. He studied under Muhammad ibn Yaḥyâ and excelled.[517] He was the author of *al-Muḥeeṭ*, a book of sixteen volumes. He was originally from Nishapur. Sultan Şalâḥ ad-Deen brought him close to him and believed in his virtue. He was famous for his virtue, religious commitment and sound intentions. He lived on very little, and was very strong in his commitment to Islam. As he said, before he went to Egypt, "I shall go to Egypt and topple the kingdom of Banu 'Ubayd al-Yahoodi (the Fatimids)." He settled in Cairo and started to say bad

things openly about the inhabitants of the palace; reviling them became like glorifying Allah for him. They were confused about him and sent him a lot of money; it was said that the amount was four thousand dinars. But he said to the messenger, "Woe to you, what is this innovation?" So the messenger reacted quickly and threw the gold down in front of him, but he beat him, with his turban becoming unravelled, and threw him down the stairs.[518]

When he came to Egypt in 565 AH, he stayed in one of the mosques, and it so happened that the caliph al-'Âdid li Deen-Illâh saw in his dream, that he was in the city of Fustat, and a scorpion came out of a mosque that was known there and stung him. He woke up scared, and summoned the dream interpreter and told him what he had seen. The man said, "Harm will befall the leader of the believers from a man who is staying in that mosque." So he ordered the governor of that city to bring the man who was in that mosque. He went and brought a Sufi man to him, and al-'Âdid asked him where he was from, when he had come to Egypt and what he had come for. He answered his questions without giving al-'Âdid any reason to suspect him; rather he gave him the impression that he was poor and weak but sincere, so he gave him money and said to him, "O Shaykh, pray for us," and let him go. He went back to his mosque and stayed there until Shirkuh came from Damascus and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen Yoosuf ibn Ayub became the vizier of al-'Âdid and started to dismantle the state. He consulted the jurisprudents of Egypt, and his were the most severe of religious rulings. He listed the bad points of the people (the Fatimids), described them as having no faith, and spoke at length, criticizing them.[519]

He enjoined what is good and forbade what is evil. The chamberlain of the deputy ruler of Egypt, Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar, came to him and said, "Taqi ad-Deen conveys salâms to you."

Al-Khabooshâni said, "Rather (his name should be) Shaqiy ad-Deen ('disobedient in religion'), may Allah never grant him peace."

Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar said, "He apologizes and says that there is no place where he can sell *mizr*[520]."

Al-Khabooshâni said, "He is lying."

Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar said, "If there is a place, show it to us."

Al-Khabooshâni said, "Come here."

Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar came near, and al-Khabooshâni grabbed him by the hair and started beating him on the head, saying, "I am not a seller of mizr to know where it is sold!"

Then they rescued Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar from him.[521] All his life al-Khabooshâni never took a dirham from a king or from an endowment, and he was buried in the cloak that he had brought from his city. He was supported by a merchant who had come with him from his city.[522] Al-Khabooshâni died in Dhul-Qa'dah 587 AH.[523]

These are the biographies of some of the scholars at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. These scholars and jurisprudents were held in high esteem by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and were highly respected. His audiences were filled with men of knowledge and virtue. Al-'Imâd mentions in this regard that he preferred to listen to hadiths with their chains of narration, and he liked the scholars with him to speak of beneficial Sharia knowledge. Because he used to engage in discussions with the jurisprudents, and take part in passing judgement with the judges, he became more knowledgeable than them on Sharia rulings and the evidence and foundations of these rulings.[524]

Ibn Shaddâd also mentions that when he heard of a shaykh who narrated hadiths and was listened to a great deal, he would be among those who would come to him. If he (the shaykh) was one of

those who could come to him, he would summon him and listen to him, and he would make those of his sons, Mamelukes and inner circle who were present listen as well. ...If the shaykh was one of those who did not frequent the doors of rulers and refrained from attending such gatherings, he would go to him and listen to him.[525] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's relationship with the imam Quṭub ad-Deen an-Naysaboori was very strong, because Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was always discussing with the leading scholars and greatest jurisprudents whatever he needed to understand.[526]

To sum up, the scholars and jurisprudents were held in high esteem and greatly respected by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, and received compassion, care, respect and appreciation from him in both material and intangible terms. Their opinions were highly respected by those rulers who thought that they should consult them concerning all Sharia matters that had to do with all aspects of life in the state. Indeed, those scholars and jurisprudents gained spiritual control of people's minds and their status reached such a high level that they wielded far-reaching influence over peoples and governments. Nothing is more indicative of that than the fact that the governments handed over the reins of defence and fighting to scholars and jurisprudents such as al-Faqeeh 'Eesâ al-Ḥakâri, who excelled in matters of both religion and warfare at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.[527]

CHAPTER V
Economic Reforms and Types of Expenditure

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's state enjoyed abundance and easy living, because its sources of income were many and various. We may list these sources as follows:

- The vast treasures of the Fatimids available to him after Egypt came under his control
- Income from the tax that came from non-Muslims
- Ransoms paid by prisoners
- Income from booty acquired through war
- Income from land tax which was taken from the inhabitants of lands conquered peacefully.

In addition, there were other Islamically acceptable sources of income and other permissible sources of wealth. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was not one of those sultans who spent wealth inappropriately; rather he spent it for the sake of Allah, building fortresses and citadels, and other construction projects that benefited the state.[528]

His interest in agriculture and trade

In order to spare the land the woes of famine that could be caused by war, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen paid a great deal of attention to agriculture and irrigation so that the land could yield its best and offer

all types of produce. Egypt and Greater Syria cooperated in an exchange of agricultural produce, reinforcing and strengthening the economy and supplying the army with necessary wealth. The two provinces stood side by side to confront the treacherous aggression of the Franks and to supply the Muslim army with everything it needed of food and weaponry. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen also paid a great deal of attention to trade. Egypt during his era was the link between east and west, and many European cities flourished because of this trade, such as the Italian cities of Venice and Pisa. Later on, the Venetians were permitted to establish a market in Alexandria. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen took a great interest in markets and paid attention to them so that the economy could flourish and productivity in his state could increase. He increased the number of markets in Egypt and Syria, and paid attention to refurbishing and expanding them. The traveller Ibn Jubayr visited some of these markets on his journey during the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in 578 AH, and he recorded his admiration for their system. He said, speaking of the city of Aleppo:

> As for the town, it is massively built and wonderfully disposed, and of rare beauty, with large markets arranged in long adjacent rows so that you pass from a row of shops of one craft into that of another, until you have gone through all the urban industries. These markets are all roofed with wood, so that their occupants enjoy an ample shade, and all hold the gaze from their beauty, and halt in wonder those who are hurrying by. Most of the shops are in wooden warehouses of excellent workmanship.[529]

In his book *Safar Nama*, Nâṣir Khusrau (or Chosroes) described the city of Tripoli (in Lebanon) at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen:

> It is a beautiful city, surrounded by farms and gardens, with a lot of sugar cane, orange, banana and lemon trees, and

hostelries with four or five or six storeys. Its streets and markets are clean and beautiful, and you would think that every market is a beautiful palace. In the middle of the city there is a great congregational mosque, well kept, and finely adorned, and solidly constructed. In the courtyard of the mosque there is a large dome, beneath which there is a marble cistern with water coming out of a copper faucet, and in the marketplace there is a water fountain[530] with five taps, from which a lot of water comes out, and the people take whatever they need.[531]

His interest in manufacturing

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen paid attention to the manufacture of weapons, textiles, fabrics, embroidered silk clothing, finely crafted horse saddles and glass. During his era the manufacture of pottery, ships, fleets and other things helped the economy to flourish, increased productivity and gave extra strength to the state.[532] Craftsmen and artisans during the Ayubid era were among the most loyal to their inherited traditions. Groups of workers and craftsmen continued to follow the same systems and methods of manufacturing as had been used in previous eras. The artisans were organized in guilds which protected their rights and supervised the execution of their duties in the most complete way; they had their guilds and traditions which everyone respected and which were supported by the state.[533] One of the traditions of these guilds was keeping the secrets of that craft or trade, and limiting it to the guild members and their families. Perhaps this explains the widespread phenomenon of certain families specializing in a particular craft that was handed down from father to son, in addition to the difficulty for strangers to enter their ranks.[534] Among the most famous centres of manufacturing during the Ayubid era were the following:

Cairo

The purpose behind the building of Cairo was not so that it could be the capital of the state or a homeland for every resident of Egypt; rather it was intended to be a place of residence solely for the caliph and his harem, troops and inner circle, far away from the city of Fustat and its environs. After just one century, at most, Cairo became an important city in which a society was soon established with all its classes and requirements, and all kinds of crafts and manufacturing spread throughout the city. These activities flourished throughout the Ayubid era.[535] It is clear that the markets of Cairo flourished during the era of an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi, when the city was exposed to economic and social changes, which resulted in increased demand for market products in general. These developments also led to most of the changes that took place in the city's markets during that period. Among the most prominent of these changes was the development of specialization in the markets — for every type of product there was a market that specialized in it. This was an organizational method that began to be adopted at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, when it may be noted that most of the main markets that appeared during the Ayubid era specialized in selling one type of good or product. This phenomenon was unknown before the Ayubid era. For example there were markets where only sewn clothes, furniture and so on were sold. The great Sooq al-Jamaloon was founded at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen; this market specialized in selling silk cloth. Other markets specialized in selling bridal trousseaus and bracelets. A market also appeared between the two palaces, selling weapons, bowls, arrows, knives and other kinds of weapons that soldiers needed. Other markets, such as ash-Sharâbishiyeen and al-Khawâ'isiyeen appeared, which sold military uniforms and clothing, as well as the cloaks which the sultan gave to emirs, viziers and judges. Some of the markets and crafts were moved

from Fustat to Cairo. This phenomenon was something natural, because it became permitted for the masses and ordinary people to live in Cairo at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen; a number of merchants and craftsmen found the opportunity to move to Cairo in order to practise their trades there, near the officials and emirs of the state, after the state dismantled the craftsmen system that had existed during the Fatimid era. This led to a large number of craftsmen moving to the various markets to work there. This undoubtedly contributed to the increase and development of manufacturing activity in Cairo, which in turn contributed to the flourishing of trade based on manufacturing at the time of an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi.[536]

Fustat

It may be said that the fire which was started by Shawar in 564 AH almost destroyed Fustat completely, were it not for the Ayubids' efforts to save it. From the time Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh became vizier, he showed an interest in rebuilding it, then this mission was continued after his death by his nephew Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, who paid a great deal of attention to Fustat, renovating its mosques and principal buildings and building schools in the city. He crowned these efforts by incorporating it with Cairo in one city wall, thus offering protection to both. As a result of this attention, the city gradually began to be built up. The opportunities for building in Fustat were good from the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, when buildings, markets and workshops were built in this area.[537] The workshops of Fustat were called foundries, for instance the copper foundry, the steel foundry and so on. There can be no doubt that the foundries were based in Fustat and produced both raw material and cast metal which were needed by the metalsmithing industry in Egypt to produce weapons and war engines, in addition to household utensils and various kinds of decorative items.[538]

Tanees

Tanees[539] is regarded as one of the most important centres of textile manufacture at the time of the Ayubids. Many historians and travellers spoke highly of its textile manufacturing.[540] It is worth mentioning that the people of Tanees remained active in manufacturing and trade until al-Malik al-Kâmil Muhammad ibn Ayub destroyed it and demolished its walls and houses in 624 AH/ 1226 CE.[541]

Other cities

Other cities which were famous as centres of manufacturing during the Ayubid era included Damietta, Akhmeem, Alexandria, Jazeerat ar-Rawdah, Damascus, Aleppo and others.[542]

Abolition of levies and being content with Sharia sources of income

It comes as no surprise that there was nothing left in Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's treasury after he died except 46 silver dirhams and a single gold dinar. His state's income was huge, and his expenditure on war was also huge. The more lands that came under his control, the more his income from them and his spending on them increased. His principles were always as follows:

1. Abolishing illegitimate levies and taxes in all lands that he conquered
2. Being content with Islamically acceptable sources of income such as zakâh, *jizyah*,[543] tribute, booty and the tithe (one-tenth) on trade.

The income from Egypt was his main source, because he regarded it as his kingdom. Hence he abolished the Hajj levies that were taken from Maghrebi pilgrims. And he abolished the levies on Yemeni merchants. He also abolished similar taxes in Damascus when he took control of it, and in Aleppo, Sanjâr and Raqqah. His financial policy appears in the statement that he issued when he abolished the levies in Raqqah:

> The worst of rulers is the one who lines his pockets at the people's expense, and the furthest from the right way is the one who takes what is not his from the people and regards it as his by right. The one who gives up something for the sake of Allah will be compensated by Allah, and the one who lends to Allah a goodly loan will be repaid by Him. When our venture ended in the conquest of ar-Raqqah, we found out about the unlawful consumption of wealth and wrongdoing which Allah has commanded be stopped, so we obliged ourselves and the governors who are working for us to waive all of these taxes. ...We have issued orders that all these doors be closed and abolished and that the records of these taxes be erased from the department, and that both rich and poor be let off paying them forever.[544]

Thus the taxes were abolished which the Crusaders used to get from as-Salt, al-Balqa', Jabal 'Awf, as-Sawâd and al-Jawlân; the Franks used to take half of the taxes collected. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen restored the obligation of zakâh, which the Fatimids had abolished, as a sign of the restoration of the Sunni madh-hab, making it an alternative to the illegitimate levies and taxes. He paid attention to the collection of zakâh; he set up a department for it and appointed someone in charge of it, but the collection of zakâh was little.[545] Zakâh was levied and collected on gold, silver, trade goods, livestock and crops, with exemptions for foodstuffs such as sesame, flax seeds,

olive oil and vegetables.[546] Tribute was collected according to the system and set times of Egypt. When the need arose to change from following the Hijri calendar to the solar Coptic calendar in 567 AH, because the times for collection had started to come before the time of production, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen made this alteration. In other regions, such as Syria and Mesopotamia, the tribute was calculated based on (an area of land approximately equal to) one acre. The tax on wheat and barley was two and a half bushels for one acre. The tax was collected and then paid to the sultan's department. The rate on fava beans and chickpeas was similar, and there were cash taxes on some harvests such as grapes and other tree fruits, which varied between one and five dinars per acre. In the third year it was no more than three dinars. Those with *dhimmi*[547] status paid the jizyah, from which children, women and monks were exempt. It was called the community tax, and varied according to the people's circumstances, between one and 4.5 dinars, in addition to two and a half dirhams to be paid by all every year. Because metal and wood were essential for making weapons, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen forbade anyone to have anything to do with them, and strictly enforced the state monopoly in these materials, because he was in a state of war with the Franks, and the punishment for anyone who smuggled any of these materials was great indeed.[548] Most of the state's income was spent on the war, fortresses, citadels, schools, mosques, border posts, inns on the roads, hospices, salaries for state employees,[549] and so on.

Hospitals at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen

In Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's time there were no schools of medicine per se, rather this specialty was taught in the hospitals. After a lecture, the student would go and see patients to learn how to diagnose and treat disease.[550] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen built a number of hospitals during his reign, including the following:

The Nâṣiri Hospital in Cairo

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen built an-Nâṣiri Hospital in Cairo, choosing one of the splendid palaces and turning it into a huge hospital. He chose for this purpose a palace that was located far away from noisy areas.[551] Dr. Aḥmad 'Eesâ explains:

> An-Nâṣiri or as-Ṣalâḥi Hospital, or the Hospital of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen: When the sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen took over Egypt in 567 AH/1171 CE, he took control of the palace of the Fatimids. In the palace there was a hall which had been built by al-'Azeez Billâh in 384 AH/994 CE. Sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen made it a hospital, and it was the oldest hospital in the palace.[552]

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil said concerning the events of 577 AH/1181 CE:

> The sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen Yoosuf ibn Ayub ordered that a hospital be opened for the sick and weak, and he chose a place in the palace. A monthly income of two hundred dinars was allocated to it from the chancery, as well as some income from Fayum (an agricultural region in Egypt). He employed in it doctors, oculists, surgeons, a supervisor, a worker and a servant, and people found great comfort and benefit in it.[553]

An-Nâṣiri Hospital was well furnished and was one of the finest palaces; it contained all that was needed for the treatment and comfort of its patients.[554] The traveller Ibn Jubayr described the hospital which Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen built in Cairo, saying:

> Another of the things we saw, doing honour to the Sultan, was the hospital in the city of Cairo. It is a palace, goodly for its beauty and spaciousness. This benefaction he made seeking reward and the pleasure of Allah. He appointed as superintendent a man of science with whom he placed a store of drugs and whom he empowered to use the potions and apply

> them in their various forms. In the rooms of this palace were placed beds, fully appointed, for inpatients. At the disposal of the superintendent are servants whose duty it is, morning and evening, to examine the conditions of the sick, and to bring them the food and potions that befit them.
>
> Facing this establishment is another especially for sick women, and they also have persons to attend to them. A third which adjoins them, a large place, has rooms with iron windows, and it also has been taken as a place of confinement for the insane. They also have persons who daily examine their condition and give them what is fitting for them. All these matters the sultan oversees, examining and questioning, and demanding the greatest care and attention to them.[555]

'Ali Mubârak Pasha said:

> When the sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen Yoosuf ibn Ayub came to power, he allocated different parts of the caliph's palace to his emirs to live in, and he allocated other parts as a hospital. This was the hospital that was known as al-'Aṭeeq (the ancient). He put its entrance in the quarter of al-Melokhiyah, which was the quarter of the commander in chief in the past. Its location is the place that is now known as Dâr Ghumri al-Ḥusri, along with neighbouring houses, as we have found in the title deeds. It is at the end of the quarter, in the direction of the small gate in the direction of Qaṣr ash-Shawq. From it one enters the ancient hospital.[556]

With regard to the doctors who worked in an-Nâṣiri hospital, among the most famous of them were: Radi ad-Deen ar-Rahbi, Ibrâheem ibn ar-Ra'ees Maymoon, Ibn Abi Usaybi'ah, Shaykh as-Sadeed ibn Abil-Bayân and al-Qâḍi Nafees ad-Deen ibn az-Zubayr.[557]

The Hospital of Alexandria

This was built by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen when he entered Alexandria in 577 AH and began to study *Al-Muwaṭṭa'* with Shaykh Abu aṭ-Ṭâhir ibn Abi 'Awf, as well as establishing a place for the Maghrebis and a school sponsored by his brother Turanshah.[558]

The Ṣalâḥi Hospital in Jerusalem

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi founded this hospital in 583 AH/1187 CE, after he liberated Jerusalem from the Crusaders and expelled them therefrom.[559] The *Encyclopaedia of Palestine* says concerning the Ṣalâḥi hospital in Jerusalem:

> It is part of the legacy of the sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi. ...Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen established it as an endowment, and appointed senior doctors for it, and he established many endowments to support it. That hospital became one of the most famous hospitals of that period, and medicine was taught as well as practiced there.[560]

The Hospital of Acre

In 583 AH, after the sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen conquered Jerusalem and rescued it from the clutches of the Crusaders, he went to Damascus, taking a detour via Acre. When he reached Acre, he stayed in its citadel and appointed Bahâ' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh to renovate it, refurbish it and restore its beauty. He turned the house of the Hospitallers into an endowment of two halves, for the poor and for scholars, and he turned the bishop's house into a hospital, establishing many endowments to provide an income for it. He put its

qâḍi, Jamâl ad-Deen ibn ash-Shaykh Abun-Najeeb, in charge of that, and went back to Damascus with a sense of achievement and pride.[561]

Regardless of size, one hospital might differ from another in terms of its style and decor, the size of the gardens attached to it and the number of fountains it contained. Nevertheless, the hospitals also had a basic plan, according to which they all contained the following:

- Sections which were just for men, and other, separate sections just for women
- Different wards according to specialties. So there were wards that were just for patients affected by fevers, other wards for mental and psychological illness, others for eye diseases, and so on.[562]
- Special wards where those who were convalescing stayed until they were fully recovered
- Wards where doctors could examine patients who were unconscious
- Rooms for the head doctor and their administrators.
- A lecture hall in which the head doctor gave his lessons and met with his students
- A library
- A kitchen for cooking healthy foods, as food was one of the means of treatment used, and also for making drinks and other remedies
- A pharmacy for preparing medicines
- Stores
- A room for washing the dead

- o A prayer room or mosque
- o Toilets and baths

In addition, there were yards, courtyards and gardens containing fragrant trees and edible plants. Many of these hospitals also contained housing quarters for those who worked in them.

Sufi khanqahs

The word *khanqah* is a Persian word which originally means a dining table or the place where the king eats. After that it was applied to the khanqahs or houses which were established by kings and emirs who were seeking to do acts of righteousness and good deeds by providing accommodation for Muslim strangers who came to their countries, and by giving them food and educating them. Even though the five daily obligatory prayers were offered in special rooms in these khanqahs that were set aside for prayer, Jumu'ah prayers were not held there.[563] The khanqah, which was a house for Sufis, was more like a school, because it was in fact a school for the masses, for those who devoted themselves to a life of asceticism and austerity, whether they were ordinary people or artisans and craftsmen who were trying to implement the principle of enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil in the streets and markets. Thus the khanqah resembled a school in appearance and function.[564] To sum up, the khanqah in Islam was something like a place of knowledge and worship that played an important religious, social and cultural role in the life of Muslim society from the beginning. At first they were institutions for the schools of jurisprudence and Hadith, and then they became beacons of culture, because of their libraries which contained books on many branches of knowledge.[565] There were many types of employment in the khanqah, such as the shaykh of the khanqah, the imam, supervisor of its endowment, teachers of the schools of

jurisprudence, assistant teachers, oculists, surgeons, pharmacists, librarians, keeper of attendance records, muezzin, supervisor of the bath house, supervisor of the kitchen, cook, servant of the shaykh, caretaker of the wooden chest in which copies of the Qur'ân were kept, doorkeepers, housekeepers, drawers of water, hewers of wood, and so on. If this number of positions indicates anything, it indicates the number of various jobs that there were in these khanqahs. Each of these people was paid a salary in cash for his work, and the man in charge of the endowment made sure that the salary was appropriate to how well off he was and his position in society; that was in addition to the rewards they received in the form of food such as vegetables, meat, rice, milk, honey, sweets and so on, as well as clothing, soap and other provisions that were distributed to them in abundance.[566]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen followed the method of his master Noor ad-Deen by paying attention to these institutions and the Sufis who came to them; he treated them kindly and consulted them about many issues, and he respected their scholars, sat with them and listened to their advice. They stood with him in his wars against the Crusaders in many battles.[567] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had grown up with his father Najm ad-Deen Ayub, who was generous, had a good attitude and was very kind to the poor and Sufis, with whom he often mixed.[568] Ibn Katheer noted, "He was courageous, prayed a great deal and sponsored a khanqah in Egypt and another in Damascus."[569] In Baalbek, Ibn Khallikân saw a Sufi khanqah that was called Najmiyah, after Najm ad-Deen, and he praised him for being very righteous.[570] Nevertheless, the greatest influence on Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's attitude and character came from his master Noor ad-Deen, from whom he had learned ways of doing good, to love people who are close to Allah and to strive in various ways of jihad. He followed the same path that Noor ad-Deen had followed before him. Before he started to liberate the land from the clutches of the Crusaders, he spent twelve years (570-582 AH) striving to achieve unity and restore

the material and spiritual strength of Islam. So he increased the building of ribâṭs[571], khanqahs and hospices, turning them into military and regular schools. As-Safadi said: He superseded Noor ad-Deen in all of that.

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen is regarded as having been the first one to introduce these places into Egypt. Al-Qalqashandi said, "With regard to khanqahs and ribâṭs, they were unknown in Egypt before the time of the Ayubid state. They were introduced by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen ibn Ayub."[572] Al-Maqreezi, as-Suyooti and others agreed with him on this point: Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was the first one to build khanqahs for the Sufis in Egypt, and he established many endowments for them. Their inhabitants were known for their knowledge and righteousness, and prominent people, from whom blessing was sought, were appointed as their shaykhs, in addition to their positions as viziers, emirs, state administrators, army commanders and leaders of troops.[573] These things attracted the attention of the Andalusian traveller Ibn Jubayr during his journey to the east, and he said:

> Among the features of this land (Egypt) and its sources of pride, which are in fact attributable to its sultan, are the schools and ribâṭs which are set up for the seekers of knowledge and worshippers. ...This sultan who has introduced these good traditions is Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. He is Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen the victorious, may Allah increase him in righteousness and guidance.[574]

Wherever Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen went and halted, he built Sharia schools and khanqahs side by side. During Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's conquest of Jerusalem in 583 AH, he ordered the Muslims to preserve the Church of the Resurrection, and he built nearby a school for the Shâfi'i scholars of jurisprudence and a ribâṭ for the righteous Sufis, and established endowments to support them. Thus he did a favour to both groups.[575] During his conquest of Acre, he allocated half of the

house of the Hospitallers as a ribâṭ for the Sufis and the other half as a school for the scholars of jurisprudence.[576]

We see nothing strange in these actions of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, especially since we know that both groups accompanied him during his campaigns and conquests and the historians have highlighted to us the presence of these two groups, especially during the conquest of Jerusalem. Ibn Khallikân said: His conquest was great, and was witnessed by a number of scholars and ragged ascetics.[577] This fact is reinforced by the words of Ibn al-Wardi in his *Târeekh*, where he said: Many of the ragged ascetics and scholars were present at his conquests in Egypt and Syria, and none of them stayed behind.[578] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would take Sufi scholars with him, so that he could seek their opinions and consult them, in addition to the fact that their presence was regarded as a strong incentive for their followers to fight with rare courage.[579]

The character of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was liked by the Sufis. He followed a path of asceticism, not keeping enough wealth to be subject to zakâh and not leaving behind in his treasury anything but forty-seven dirhams and a single gold piece. He left behind no property, house, real estate, garden, village, cultivated land or any other type of wealth. In this world he was content with the shade of a tent blown right and left by the wind.[580] For Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, gold and mud were all the same. Ibn Shaddâd noted, "I heard him say in a discussion that there may be people who look upon wealth as they look upon dust, and it was as if he was referring to himself."[581]

There are many reports which confirm the asceticism of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, and the simplicity of his food and clothing, whilst he bestowed generous gifts upon the scholars of jurisprudence and Sufis, and established entire villages with all that they contained of resources and profits to serves as endowments for hospices and houses for the poor.[582] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen built inns in isolated places far

away from civilization, and on the routes that connected cities, to serve wayfarers and travellers. Ibn Jubayr saw the inn that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen built on the road between Homs and Damascus, which was called Khan as-Sulṭân. The emir Bahâ' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh also built wayfarers' inns.[583]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen paid attention to attracting scholars and the Sufis. He established the first khanqah for the Sufis in Egypt, and devoted it to the poor Sufis who came from all over the world. He established great endowments for them and appointed a shaykh for them to run their affairs who was known as 'the Shaykh of Shaykhs'. Al-Maqreezi stated that its Sufi inhabitants were known for knowledge and righteousness, and the number of people living there was three hundred. The sultan allocated bread and sweets for them every day, and forty dirhams per year for clothing, and he built a bath house for them nearby. If any of them wanted to travel, he would give him money to help him reach his destination.[584]

This attention that was paid to Sufi affairs was intended to serve several aims, some of which had to do with the Sunni revival movement. Although moderate Sufism was a trend which was respected by both rulers and common folk at that time, this kind of attention that was paid to it, in Egypt in particular, was a deliberate action, aimed at achieving a specific goal. Perhaps the reason for this was that the Fatimids in Egypt had failed, despite their various methods of calling people to their madh-hab, in changing the beliefs of the majority of Egyptians, but they had easily affected their emotions. The displays of grief and mourning for al-Ḥusayn, and the celebrations of the birthdays of Ahl al-Bayt, and the attention paid by the Fatimids to these and other occasions, all of that had had an effect on the Egyptians' emotions, and traces of that can still be seen today. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen tried to attract Sunni scholars to Egypt from all over, to contribute their knowledge and ideas to the Sunni revival movement. There was another important aspect which it was essential to fulfil and

turn it away from the direction in which it had been going under the Fatimids and find another outlet for it. That was the people's emotions, which the Fatimids had easily dominated.[585] The Sunni Sufis and their followers were among those who could fulfil this aspect at that time with their easygoing attitude, their shunning of worldly delights and their ability to address people in their gatherings, which were usually for the purpose of exhortation, *dhikr*[586] and so on.[587] Thus Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, like Noor ad-Deen before him, was able to benefit from the Sunni Sufi groups in the Sunni revival movement and in confronting Shiism and the Crusader invasion.

Social reform

Social life at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was characterized by its serious nature, resistance to the Franks and striving against the enemy. It was far removed from displays of ostentation and extreme extravagance, or false displays of greatness. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen (may Allah have mercy on him) set a good example to his troops and his subjects by wearing ordinary clothing, eating coarse food and mixing with people in a humble manner. Al-'Imâd al-Isfahâni said, describing his clothing and his way of mixing with people, "He wore nothing but that which it is permissible to wear, such as linen, cotton and wool, and anyone who sat with him would not feel that he was sitting with a sultan, because of his humbleness."[588] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was an athletic man who loved horsemanship and ball games, and encouraged others to engage in them too. He would ride to watch ball games and polo after dhuhr prayer, accompanied by his men. When he reached the field, he would dismount and watch the game, and the players would continue playing until the adhân for 'aṣr prayer. He would also take part in these games with his inner circle and would go out to play with some of his friends. Hunting and fishing were also beloved pastimes; people would go out in groups or alone to hunt

birds and catch fish, or to hunt geese and rabbits. If this phenomenon indicates anything, it is indicative of complete readiness and preparedness to engage in battle with extreme bravery and unparalleled courage. Among the major reforms that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen achieved in Muslim society was suppressing manifestations of promiscuity and immorality that were widespread at the time of the Fatimids, especially on special occasions and festivals such as the Nawrooz festival. If we want to know the extent of this immorality that was widespread in Egyptian society before the days of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, let us listen to what al-Maqreezi has said:

> Evil was manifest during the festival of Nawrooz, when there would be a large gathering, and effeminate men and immoral women would gather beneath the Pearl Palace where the caliph could see them, with musical instruments in their hands. Voices would become loud and wine would be drunk in the streets, and the people would throw water at one another, or water and wine, or water mixed with filth. If a decent person made the mistake of coming out of his house, he would be met by people who would sprinkle him and make his clothes dirty and humiliate him, and he would either have to give something to ransom himself or be exposed.[589]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen abolished these immoral goings-on and blatant evil, and restored an innocent and clean life. He brought back to them the morals and etiquette of Islam. Another of the corrupt phenomena that he abolished was the innovated occasions and festivals, such as the innovations on the day of 'Ashoorâ', which was a day of grief and mourning for the Fatimids, on which there was a lot of weeping and wailing out loud; people did not work and the markets were closed, and there was widespread chaos, as if each individual had lost the dearest of people to him. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was able to put an end to these blameworthy customs and innovations.[590]

With regard to his generosity towards the people and his distribution of gifts to them, there is much to be said. He would give like one who did not fear poverty, because the way he regarded wealth was like that of one who was looking at dust. We have already seen that when he died he left behind in his treasury nothing but forty-seven silver dirhams and a single gold piece. He left behind no property, house, real estate, garden, village, cultivated land or any other type of wealth. Instead, he spent a great deal of wealth on restoration projects and preparing the means of warfare, and on deserving cases among the people, until he achieved complete security in society where no one was in need. The state was strong and all people enjoyed a good living. This is what this just sultan and heroic leader achieved. Among the actions for which Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen will be forever remembered is his abolition of many of the taxes which burdened society and caused the people great harm, such as the taxes that were imposed by the emir of Makkah on the pilgrims. The ruler of Makkah had ordered that the pilgrims pay the levies of Makkah in advance, in Jeddah, and the pilgrims were treated unfairly. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen abolished this entire system and compensated the governor of Makkah by paying him a lump sum. Every year he sent to him eight thousand measures of wheat and stipulated that it be distributed among the people of the Two Holy Sanctuaries. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen also abolished the taxes that were imposed on the people and with one lump sum paid from the treasury he benefited the people of the Two Holy Sanctuaries.[591] Another thing that points to his good intentions, his keenness to keep the people safe and unite the ummah, and his care to avoid wrongdoing, is the advice he gave to his son al-Malik adh-Dhâhir, whom he appointed as governor of Aleppo. He advised him, as recorded by his qâḍi Ibn Shaddâd:

> I urge you to fear Allah, for it is the root of all goodness, and I enjoin you to adhere to that which Allah commands you, for it

is the means of your salvation. I warn you against shedding blood and indulging therein, for blood never sleeps. I urge you to be kind to the people and to take care of them, for you are my trustee and the trustee of Allah over them. I urge you to be kind to the emirs, state officials and prominent people, for I have not attained the position I have attained except by being kind to people. Do not bear grudges against anyone, for death will not leave anyone. Watch the relationship between you and people, for sins concerning them cannot be forgiven except with their consent, but what is between you and Allah will be forgiven if you repent, for He is Most Generous.[592]

These are the most important social and moral reforms undertaken by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, which enabled Muslim society during his rule to flourish with the noblest character, best traditions and finest etiquette.[593]

Infrastructure

Another of these reforms was the attention that he paid to the wall of Cairo, most of which had been destroyed and no longer prevented anyone from entering or leaving. Thus he rebuilt the wall. He appointed as supervisor of this rebuilding of the wall at-Tawâshi Bahâ' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh. The wall extended around the cities that formed the city of Cairo at that time, namely the city of Fustat, which was founded by 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ, the city of al-'Askar, which was founded by Ṣâliḥ ibn 'Ali al-'Abbâsi, and the city of Cairo which was founded by Jawhar as-Siqilli. The aim behind building this wall was to protect the city from aggressors. In addition to building the wall, he built Qal'at al-Jabal (the citadel of the mountain) to defend Cairo from treacherous attacks, but he was not able to finish building it all because he was distracted by wars in various arenas. This citadel is

regarded as one of the fortified relics of Egyptian history, which has been altered frequently down throughout the ages. Other citadels built by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen include Qal'at Sina' which he built in the Sinai Peninsula, 57 kilometres northeast of the city of as-Suways (Suez). To the south of the citadel he also built two neighbouring mosques and cisterns to provide water. On the doors of the cisterns the following lines were written:

> In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful; may Allah send blessings upon our master Muhammad; may Allah cause the kingdom of our lord an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ al-Dunya wad-Deen, the king of Islam and the Muslims, the caliph of the Commander of the Faithful, to abide forever. This cistern was built by al-Malik 'Ali ibn an-Nâṣir al-'Âdil al-Muzaffar.

Construction was completed in Sha'bân 590 AH.[594] Professor Na'oom Shuqayr says in his book *Târeekh Sinâ' wal-'Arab*:

> He passed by this citadel and the two mosques, and he saw that the citadel had a large gate on its northwest side, and over the lintel of the door there was a square historical Arabic stone on which was carved in relief the name of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and the words, 'In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the most Merciful; may Allah send blessings upon Muhammad. May Allah cause the kingdom of our lord al-Malik an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, the sultan of Islam and the Muslims, Yoosuf al-'Âdil an-Nâṣir, to abide forever. Jumâda II 583 AH.'[595]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's interest in building military fortifications was not everything. He also paid attention to developing Jazeerat ar-Rawḍah and Giza, building the Nilometer[596] and digging irrigation ditches, as well as building hospitals, schools and khanqahs. At the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, the cities of Giza and ar-Rawḍah were the most important part of the country. Ibn Jubayr says in his *Riḥlah*:

> In Giza there is a large market every Sunday where many congregate. Between it and Fustat there is an island (ar-Rawḍah) with fine houses and commanding belvederes, which is a resort for entertainment and diversion. Between this island and Fustat there is a canal from the Nile. On this island is a congregational mosque in which the khutbah is delivered. Beside this mosque is the Nilometer, which measures the Nile's increase or decrease. In it there is stone and marble, and other kinds of beauty and artistry.[597]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen built irrigation channels and developed the fleet, and he established a special department for the fleet that was called *diwân al-usṭool*, which he handed over to his brother al-'Âdil. Alexandria and Damietta were the most important sea ports in Egypt, and Fustat and Qoos were the most important Nile ports. In them were built the warships that guarded those borders and went out on naval campaigns to make the word of Islam prevail and its banner fly in all places. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen thought of Alexandria and its strategic importance in resisting the Crusader venture, and ordered that its walls and towers be rebuilt; he also built a hospital there, and tended to its bridges and irrigation ditches in order to improve the lot of its farmers.[598]

Many factors contributed to the development of infrastructure at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, including religious, geographic, political, administrative, economic, military, social and cultural factors. Dr. 'Adnân al-Ḥârithi discussed them in detail in his useful book *'Umrân al-Qâhirah wa Khuṭaṭuhâ fee 'Âhd Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayyoobi.*[599] Dr. 'Izz ad-Deen Farrâj discussed the features of the Ayubid style of development:

> The most important feature of development in Ayubid Egypt was those fortifications with their towers and gates, which were added to the walls and citadels. The gates which Ṣalâḥ

ad-Deen built were of the staggered type, which was a new design aimed at making fortresses stronger. The gate did not go through the wall in a straight line like an ordinary gate; rather the enemy was forced to go through a gate between two towers, in which there were openings through which arrows could be shot into an exposed area where there was no protection for those who were coming in. There was also a new construction element that was used by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in these fortifications, which was a stone balcony that jutted out from the wall. This was equipped with narrow openings from which the troops could shoot their arrows at the attacking enemy from the front and sides. Professor Crosswell has proven that eastern architectural elements, as well as the design of schools with intersecting halls, were established and developed in Egypt, and this idea did not come from elsewhere. During this era, the use of decorative plaster and carpentry work also continued to flourish, and 'Naskhi' calligraphy appeared alongside Kufi calligraphy.[600]

Administrative reform

The emergence of the Ayubid state had a great impact on the creation of new official administrative developments which differed from the traditional Fatimid model. Al-Qalqashandi states that when the Ayubid state took over from the Fatimid state, it differed from it in the way of running affairs and changed most of its features.[601] When the Ayubids arrived from the Muslim east, they brought with them a new administrative spirit, which was based on the Seljuk, Zangid and Abbasid systems. Many changes were introduced into the administration, among the most prominent of which were new administrative posts such as the sultan's deputy,[602] which reflected the necessity of the Sultan leaving the country because of the wars

with the Crusaders. Hence there was a need for someone to act as his deputy during his absence.[603] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen divided his state into administrative regions, each of which had its own resources and distinct character, such as Egypt, Greater Syria, Northern Iraq, Nubia, the Maghreb, Yemen and the Hijaz. He spent most of the years of his rule on the battlefield, exercising a policy of planning, executing and supervising, while guiding the overall policy of the state. He allowed freedom of execution to the governors, with regard to local issues, such as jihad preparedness and defence, according to the circumstances and resources of each province. This is what is known in modern parlance as "decentralization." In fact, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did not hold all the reins of authority in his own hands, despite the fact that he was also running the affairs of the central government. It is most likely that he realized that the distribution of power would make each governor watch over the others and compare himself to the others in the way in which he exercised his special authority. Dividing the work among a number of qualified people also achieved a number of advantages that had to do with the quality and speed of work.[604] Cairo was the centre of his government, where his deputies and viziers lived, and whence his commands were issued to different regions, and Greater Syria was his theatre of war and the arena of his jihad against the Crusaders.[605]

He appointed the highest state positions to his sons, relatives and the closest of people to him, so as to protect his system and method of ruling and leadership. When selecting them, his choice was based on a rational approach, to the extent that he dismissed his son al-Malik adh-Dhâhir Ghazi from his post as governor of Aleppo and gave it to his brother al-'Âdil when the interests of the state called for that. When he annexed an Islamic emirate into his state, he would leave its rulers in place if they agreed to come under his authority and implement his policies to serve his aims, rather the aims of Islam as a whole. If any of them refused, he would allow him to go wherever he

wanted. He used peaceful methods in order to reach an understanding with them. If any of them rebelled against him, he would overlook his mistakes and receive him with a cheerful face and honour him a great deal, as he did in the case of Taqi ad-Deen ‘Umar when he wanted to rebel against him and go to the Maghreb after he was dismissed from his post as governor of Egypt. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen paid attention to the public interest when appointing or dismissing governors, in addition to the political and military circumstances of the state. His conduct was distinguished by justice and humility; he did not hurt the feelings of anyone or put himself above anyone or behave arrogantly towards anyone. Tyranny was not part of his nature.[606]

Bahâ’ ad-Deen Qaraqoosh

Bahâ’ ad-Deen Qaraqoosh was one of the administrators of the Ayubid state. He was a Roman (Byzantine) slave who had fled from one of the villages of Asia Minor and moved from one land to another until he reached Syria, then he joined the entourage of Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh, who recognized his potential for smartness and courage. So he drew him close to him and started training him in horsemanship and developing his fighting skills. In Damascus he was called Bahâ’ ad-Deen ibn ‘Abdullâh al-Asadi, after Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh, who had bought him, trained him and taught him, and was the cause of his embracing Islam. Bahâ’ ad-Deen soon climbed the army ladder and reached the position of commander. At the head of this army was the heroic leader Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh, who had entered Egypt during the final years of the Fatimid state; later on, Egypt had ended up in the hands of the commander Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi, which led to the demolishing of the Fatimid state, and the Ayubid state was established in its stead. The meaning of the name Qaraqoosh in Turkish is osprey, which is a bird of prey. This name is

given to a man for his chivalry and courage. The name is composed of two words, *qara* meaning black and *qoosh* meaning bird or eagle.[607] Ibn Khallikân mentioned some details of his life story, saying:

> It was said that he was the servant of Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh, the paternal uncle of the sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, who manumitted him. When Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen took full control of Egypt, he put him in charge of the palace, then he acted as his deputy in Egypt for a while; Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen delegated the affairs of Egypt to him and he relied on him to manage its affairs. He was a fortunate man, and a man of high ambition.[608]

Ibn Katheer wrote a biography of him in *Al-Bidâyah wan-Nihâyah*: The emir Bahâ' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh was a scholar and faqeeh, but he devoted himself to administrative and military service.[609] The life of the emir Bahâ' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh was filled with great achievements, heroic acts and sincerity towards Islam and the Muslims during the time he was close to the leader Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi, and after he died, which made him a focal point for the plots of those who envied him and the enemies of Islam and the Muslims.[610] Among the actions that were delegated to him and in which he did well were:

Guarding the Fatimid palace

When Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen appointed him to guard the Fatimid palace so that none of its treasures could be leaked to the opponents of Ahl as-Sunnah, the emir undertook this mission in the best manner and guarded the Fatimid palace with an eye that never slept. The conspirators tried in vain to get hold of the wealth they needed to spend on this conspiracy, and they did not succeed. This was one of the factors that contributed to the failure of the conspiracy.[611] This

was the conspiracy of the caliph's confidant, which we discussed previously. The Fatimid palace contained treasures such as no eye had ever seen: fine clothing, valuable jewellery, splendid treasures, precious stones such as rubies and emeralds, golden artefacts, silver vessels, necklaces and pearls. The emir Qaraqoosh guarded these treasures in the best manner until Allah granted victory to the commander Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and gave him power in the land.[612]

Building Qal'at al-Jabal

When the commander Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen returned from Syria and saw what the emir Bahâ' ad-Deen had achieved during his absence, in which the emir had demonstrated his brilliance and great experience in engineering, he ordered him to build for him a citadel to protect Fustat and left him to choose its location and determine its size. The emir Bahâ' ad-Deen selected an elevated piece of land in Jabal al-Muqattam which overlooks the whole of Cairo, to be the site of this citadel. He started to build it in 572 AH, and the construction of this citadel was part of a series of fortifications and military installations undertaken by the Ayubids to secure the cities of Egypt such as Fustat and Cairo. Hence the constructions had the outward appearance of fortifications, with towers and strong gates, and inside there were splendid buildings for the sultan, which impressed all the travellers and historians who visited them. The citadel was built on a high rocky hill, which increased its strength and solidity.[613]

Ibn Jubayr commented:

> We also looked upon the building of the citadel, an impregnable fortress adjoining Cairo which the Sultan thinks to take as his residence, extending its walls until it enfolds the two cities of Fustat and Cairo. The forced labourers on this construction, and those executing all the skilled services and

> vast preparations such as sawing the marble, cutting the huge stones and digging the fosse that girdles the walls noted above — a fosse hollowed out with pick-axes from the rock to be a wonder amongst wonders of which traces may remain — were the foreign Roman prisoners whose numbers were beyond computation. There was no cause for any but them to labour on this construction.[614]

Bi'r Yoosuf (Yoosuf's Well)

Inside the citadel the emir Bahâ' ad-Deen built an amazing well that was dug very deep into the rock. This well until today is still called Bi'r Yoosuf (Yoosuf's Well), after Yoosuf Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.[615] Professor 'Ali Pasha Mubârak says:

> The well known as al-Halazoon ('the Snail'), which is located inside the citadel is the work of Qaraqoosh during the days of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. It was dug to provide water inside the citadel if it were to be besieged by the enemy.[616]

The walls of Cairo, the citadel and Fustat

After building the citadel in 567 AH, the emir Bahâ' ad-Deen extended the northern wall of Fatimid Cairo to the west, until it reached the port of al-Maqsi on the Nile, which is now the location of Masjid al-Fatḥ al-Jadeed in Ramses Square. This is the same site that was occupied by Jâmi' Awlâd 'Annân, before it was transferred. He also extended the wall eastwards until it joined the old northern Fatimid wall which lay east of the quarter of ad-Darb al-Aḥmar. He extended a third wall from south of the citadel to Bâb al-Qurâfah at the city of Fustat, a distance of five and a half kilometres.[617] The wall that was built by the emir Qaraqoosh was the third wall that surrounded Cairo at that time. The first wall had been built by the

Byzantine general Jawhar al-Siqilli; the second was built by the Fatimid vizier and army commander Badr al-Jamâli; and the third was built of stone by the emir Qaraqoosh.[618] The wall went around the four cities which formed the city of Cairo at that time, which were: Fustat; al-'Askar; Cairo (al-Qâhirah); and Fustat. The great wall of Cairo was regarded as one of the greatest military installations built during this era. The one who was appointed to supervise this work was the emir Bahâ' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh, who demonstrated brilliance, vast experience and great energy in building military installations. Every time Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen needed to build any military installation, he sought the help of the emir, Bahâ' ad-Deen.[619]

The bridges of Giza and the citadel of al-Maqsi

Among the constructions and military installations built by the emir Bahâ' ad-Deen were the bridges of Giza which are located beneath the bridge that connects the Nile and the Pyramids, in the direction of the city of Fustat.[620] It was stated that he demolished the small pyramids that were scattered in Giza, and took the stones to build the bridges.[621] Another was the citadel of al-Maqsi, which was the name of a large tower built by the emir Bahâ' ad-Deen at the Bridge of the Caliphs, near the Jâmi' mosque at the end of the wall of Cairo, at Bâb al-Baḥr. Its location is the site where the Awqâf building and the Râṭib Pasha building now stand, next to Jâmi' Awlâd 'Annân, in the direction of al-Baḥriyah ash-Sharqiyah, in Bâb al-Ḥadeed Square.[622]

As governor of Acre: his renovation of its walls

In Muharram 585 AH, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen went to Acre and stayed there, putting its affairs in order. He put the emir Bahâ' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh in charge of it and ordered him to develop it and renovate its walls.[623] We will discuss Acre and what happened there below.

Origin of the saying "(As harsh and irrational as) the ruling of Qaraqoosh"

Qaraqoosh was one of the bravest and most brilliant commanders. On one occasion he was captured and was ransomed for ten thousand dinars, and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen rejoiced greatly when he was ransomed. It seems that the way he ran the affairs of Cairo was very wise and decisive; he removed the Fatimids from power and kept a tight grip on their remnants, so they could find no way to fight him except by spreading rumours and trying to tarnish his reputation. So they wrote a book about him called *Al-Fashoosh fee Aḥkâm Qaraqoosh* ("Strange stories about the rule of Qaraqoosh"), which is nothing more than rumours which are repeated foolishly by our contemporaries.[624] Ibn Khallikân stated that the people attributed bizarre verdicts to the emir Bahâ' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh when he was serving as Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's deputy. In his book, al-As'ad ibn Mamâti mentioned far-fetched and unlikely events which it seems were fabricated. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen relied on Qaraqoosh with regard to running the kingdom, and were it not for his confidence in his knowledge and ability, he would not have entrusted that to him.[625]

The book by al-As'ad ibn Mamâti is thus the origin of this saying which became widespread in all regions, from the date it first appeared and until now. It is a small book that contains stories and funny anecdotes, written in the vernacular, discrediting the emir Bahâ' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh and showing him to be the opposite of what he really was. It makes him appear as a laughable character, like the character of Juḥâ in the tradition of comic folklore. The aim of Ibn Mamâti was to undermine the emir Bahâ' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh.[626] Ibn Khallikân was of the opinion that this book was entirely fabricated, because al-As'ad ibn Mamâti was close to, and indeed a part of, the Ayubid court, so how could he have denounced and condemned the system of which he was a part?[627]

In fact the motive behind this book, which slandered the emir Bahâ' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and the entire Ayubid state, was a propaganda campaign and plan that was drawn up to undermine the sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and the Ayubid state at the peak of its glory. The aim was to damage this state that played such a prominent role in putting an end to the Fatimid state and defeating the invading Crusaders. What we can also be certain of is that the fact that the book was written in the form of a letter offering advice to the sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in the vernacular is indicative of the craftiness and malicious intent of its author. In fact he managed to achieve his goal, which is borne out by the speed with which the lies contained in this book spread and were repeated by people as if they were true. Even as-Suyooti was influenced by it and narrated it to his students — as is seen in the Paris MS — even though he acknowledged that the emir Bahâ' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh was a righteous man who was more inclined to do good.[628] The aim behind the book *Al-Fashoosh fi Aḥkâm Qaraqoosh* was to shake people's confidence in the emir Bahâ' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh, who was a prominent leader and trustworthy assistant of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, whose help the latter sought at times of crisis. This misinformation was intended to rally and incite the people against the Sunni Ayubid state which had put an end to Shiite Fatimid rule. So the book was no more than a means of political propaganda against the Sunni venture.

CHAPTER VI

The Military System at the Time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen began to fortify cities, build citadels and organize the army to withstand the possibility of attacks against him. At that time he focused on building up naval forces because he was aware of the strength of the Franks at sea and their weakness on land, and he realized that it was essential to build a war fleet to block Frankish naval convoys which could supply the Crusader kingdoms on the Syrian coast with food, weapons and men every time the pressure against them on land increased. In addition to that, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen discovered that the structure of the state in Egypt was weak and vulnerable, so he had no option but to reorganize its legislative and administrative affairs before confronting the Franks. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen realized the importance of keeping the trade and transportation routes between the Mediterranean and Red Sea open, and he recognized the difference between the interests of the merchants of the Mediterranean European cities and the ambitions of the rulers of the Latin kingdoms in central, western and northern Europe. So he signed trade agreements with them in return for their breaking their ties with the rulers of those kingdoms. Another thing that he realized was that the Franks were attempting to extend their domination from the coast of Syria and Palestine to the Red Sea, and he recognized the possibility that trade caravans may be exposed from the rear, as well as the possibility that the Hajj caravans may also be exposed to danger. Hence he ordered that his army be sent to Yemen, to secure

the sea lanes and put an end to pirate activity and attacks against pilgrim caravans.[629]

Development of the military feudal system at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen

In the Ayubid feudal system, fiefs[630] were given in return for military service. It was not, however, an heritable system, as the bestowing of a fief by the Ayubid sultan did not mean that ownership of the agricultural land was being given to the recipient, nor did it mean that the recipient could enjoy the yield of the fief on a long-term basis. Rather the bestowal of a fief simply meant that the recipient had the right to collect for himself and his troops a certain amount of taxes in return for military and civil duties that he was obliged to do. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen began to allocate the land of Egypt in the form of fiefs. He gave some to his family members, and some to his emirs and commanders. He allocated Alexandria, Damietta and Buheira to his father Najm ad-Deen, and he allocated Qoos, Aswân and 'Aydhâb to his brother Shams ad-Deen Turanshah. That is supported by, among other things, what al-Maqreezi noted, "Since the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen Yoosuf ibn Ayub and up until now, all the land of Egypt is allocated as fiefs to the sultan and his emirs and troops."[631]

At the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, the allocation of military fiefs was a practice not limited only to Egypt; rather it was extended to all the lands that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was able to incorporate into the venture of Islamic unity. He followed a number of methods of distributing those fiefs to his emirs and troops, such as that which was aimed at confirming his control of the lands that came under his sway, as when he captured Homs and Hamah in 570 AH/1174 CE, when he allocated a fief to his paternal cousin Nâṣir ad-Deen Muhammad ibn Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh, and another to his maternal uncle Shihâb ad-

Deen al-Hâzimi.[632] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen also used the allocation of fiefs as a means of achieving Islamic unity. This is indicated by the call that he sent when he halted at Bira, when he wrote to the kings of neighbouring cities saying, "Whoever comes and submits willingly, his land will be safe, provided that he is one of the sultan's troops, and one of his followers and helpers in the jihad against the disbelievers."[633] He acted on the same basis with 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi, 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood, the ruler of Mosul, and the ruler of 'Ayn Tâb, when he wrote to the sultan announcing that he would obey him. When he took control of it, he affirmed it as his fief, in 579 AH/1183 CE.[634]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen also awarded fiefs to his men as a reward for their great exploits. This is what Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did with the emir of Hasankeyf, which he allocated to Âmid as a reward for services rendered to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.[635] He did likewise with Sayf ad-Deen al-Mashtoob, when the Crusaders released him from captivity. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen welcomed him warmly and allocated Nablus and its surroundings to him as a fief, in 588 AH/1192 CE.[636] It may also be noted that when allocating fiefs, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen paid attention to security matters in his state. He allocated fiefs to Arab tribes whose people often betrayed him and sent food supplies to the Crusaders. He allocated various fiefs in Egypt to the tribes of Judhâm and Tha'labah, so as to maintain security and encourage those Bedouin to join him in the jihad.[637]

Another of the unique characteristics of the Ayubid feudal system was that it allowed fiefs to be transferred from one beneficiary to another, but this transfer was not done through inheritance. At the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, no fief was transferred by inheritance except in three cases.[638] In return for the income acquired from the fief, the beneficiary had a number of commitments that he was obliged to fulfil. These were military commitments such as sending troops at

times of war, in addition to a number of non-military obligations,[639] such as implementing decrees issued by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, establishing security within the fief, and paying attention to the welfare of individuals living in the fief.[640] In addition to that, the recipient had a number of civil duties, the most important of which had to do with irrigation and cultivation of the fief, and some special services to the sultan.[641] The fiefs sometimes contained lands that were already developed and cultivated as the result of prior construction of irrigation ditches and bridges; in that case the recipients had to do their utmost to improve this developed land, in addition to building and maintaining *jusoor baladiyah*, which were small agricultural dams which played a major role in irrigation of the fiefs. *Jusoor sultaniyah*, on the other hand, were large agricultural dams which were built to benefit whole regions, so the recipients of fiefs were not responsible for them in theory, but in fact they did help the sultan to build this kind of dam, by supplying men, cattle, equipment and so on. In addition to that, the recipient also took part in digging and cleaning channels.[642]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen used the same method as had been used by his Zangid forebears in paying the troops' salaries; he allocated fiefs to his commanders as an alternative to what was required of paying salaries to the troops. It was sufficient for Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen to notify the recipient of the fief when he decided to launch the jihad against the Crusaders, and the recipient would march to join him with his troops, fully equipped with sufficient food supplies.[643] Because Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was the original source for allocation of fiefs, he could cancel a fief at any time if the recipient failed to carry out his duties or behaved in such a manner that undermined his military commitments, as happened in 573 AH/1177 CE, when Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen took Akhbâz away from a group of Kurds because they were the cause of the Muslim army's defeat at the battle of al-Ramlah at Tell as-Sâfiyah by the Crusader army led by Reynald de Châtillon.[644]

In fact the military feudal system was very important to the army of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.[645] Moreover, this system, with the duties it involved, punished the fief-holder by dismissing him from his fiefdom if he fell short in any of those duties, and guaranteed the sincerity of the troops and their standing firm in battle. This is in addition to what some of the fief-holders did of military actions against the enemy. Ibn Wâsil and Ibn Katheer mention, among the events of 575 AH/1179 CE, that 'Izz ad-Deen Farakh Shah, whose fief at that time was Baalbek, raided Safad in that year, and came back safe and sound after killing a large number of (Crusader) fighters and seizing a large amount of booty.[646] In addition to that, the military feudal system was regarded as one of the main sources of income for the Ayubid state, because it was a source of permanent income that was required to spend on the sultan's army and the armies of the feudal emirs, in addition to important military expenditure on the army at times of war.[647] Thus it may be said that by implementing the military feudal system in his state, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen saved himself the task of supplying the entire army with weapons, equipment and supplies.[648]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's military department

This department was responsible for army affairs and was supervised by one who had knowledge and experience of the affairs of this institution, on the condition that he was a Muslim of high rank and prominent status.[649] It was akin to what we call the ministry of defence nowadays, and the man in charge of it was responsible for knowing the situation of the troops and recording their presence or absence, state of health, and deaths.[650] One of the duties of the military department was issuing regular statistics on the numbers of troops and the amount of money allocated to them. One of this

department's specialities was mentioned by Ibn Khallikân in his biography of al-Malik adh-Dhâhir Ghiyâth ad-Deen ibn Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen who came to inspect the troops one day. He had the army records before him, and every time a soldier appeared in front of him, he asked him his name and the scribe wrote it on the list.[651] The employees of the military department recorded the names of those who had received fiefs, according to their various levels, and the number of troops belonging to each fief-holder in his fief. In front of each fief-holder's name, there was a symbol referring to his fief without mentioning it clearly by name. Perhaps this was a precaution aimed at secrecy on the part of the department employees. Hence the department avoided mentioning the names of the fiefs and their yields, unless ordered to do so by the sultans.[652]

It seems that the military department spent wealth on the infrastructure and fortifications in which Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen took an interest, especially in Egypt, for fear of Crusader attacks against it whilst he was in Syria. The best testimony to that may be the fortifications on which he spent a huge amount of wealth, such as the Ayubid walls of Cairo and Qal'at al-Jabal which he built on the side of Jabal al-Muqattam.[653] He also fortified the city of Damietta, which al-Maqreezi said cost "a million dinars".[654] The most important employees of the military department at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen included the *nâzir*, who was regarded as primarily responsible for everything that happened in the department. Next to the nâzir came the *mutawalli ad-diwân*, whose job was to supervise the carrying out of the nâzir's instructions, and the *mustawfi*, whose role was to follow up on the employees and ensure that they submitted the figures required from them on time; and there were other employees.[655]

The uniforms of the troops

When the Ayubid state succeeded the Fatimid state in Egypt, it differed from it in many of the ways in which the state was run. It changed most of its methods to follow the ways of the Atabeg state at the time of 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi in Mosul, then of his son al-Malik al-'Âdil Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood in Syria. Their habit was to wear yellow woollen caps[656] on their heads, with no turban wrapped around them, and with their hair in braids, hanging below the caps. It was the same for Mamelukes, emirs and others.[657] In general, the attire of the troops in the Ayubid state was a natural extension of the attire of troops in the Zangid state.

Food supplies

Food supplies were usually carried in the rear of the army and were called *ath-thiql* (the load). But it so happened in some campaigns that they put the 'load' in the middle of the army near the heart of the troops. The reason for that may have been their fear that the enemy might capture their supplies. In the middle of Jumâda I 584 AH/1188 CE, the sultan mobilized to meet the enemy and organized the battalions, putting the right flank first, the heart in the middle and the left flank in the rear, led by Muzaffar ad-Deen ibn Zayn ad-Deen, and the "load" travelled in the middle of the army.[658] We find that the troops, for their part, carried some essential food supplies with them in sacks — called *soolaq* — made of leather which hung from their shoulders. When preparing to set out, the troops would stock up by going to the market and buying the necessities, which might be no more than some bread, cheese, onions and a little dried meat, and some grains, legumes, fruit and dates.[659] When preparing for the battle of ar-Ramlah which ended in defeat for

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen (573 AH/1177 CE), al-'Imâd al-Kâtib al-Isfahâni reported:

> The call went out to the troops to take provisions for another ten days, in order to be on the safe side. Orders were sent to the military market for the troops to buy at a time when prices had started to rise.[660]

During the campaigns that followed the battle of Hattin, when the Ayubid army had started to raid the coast near the Crusader Kingdom of Tripoli in 584 AH/1188 CE, the call went out to the troops: We are going to the coast, where there is little food available for sale, and the enemy is surrounding us on all sides, so take with you provisions for one month.[661] When hardship intensified for the people of Acre during the harsh and lengthy siege, the emir Bahâ' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh sent word from inside the city, complaining to the sultan of the lack of food supplies. So the sultan arranged a huge ship for them and sent it to them. In order for it to reach Acre safely, he appointed in charge of the ship some former Christians from Beirut who had become Muslim, so that they could work out a deal with the enemy who were besieging the city and trick them with their language and dress. To make the trick work better, he told them to raise crosses on the mast of the ship, and to put pigs on the deck. They sailed towards Acre, and on the way they were intercepted by the Crusaders, but they managed to make the trick succeed and convince them that they were fellow Crusaders, and so they were able to enter the besieged port,[662] bringing supplies such as four hundred containers of wheat, a quantity of cheese and onions, some sheep, and everything that was needed.[663] Supplies were sent repeatedly to Acre because of the length of the siege; they came from Egypt, which was a land of plenty, in addition to what was sent from Beirut.[664] The Muslims invented different ways to prevent the city falling into Crusader hands, but then they were defeated and Acre fell, and the

difficulty of supplying the city was one of the main reasons for its fall. But some of the cities that were in Crusader hands fell to the Ayubid army because their food supplies were cut off.[665] We find that the Ayubid army resorted, at times of war, to cutting off food supplies in order to starve the enemy and thus weaken them and make them surrender. They also destroyed the Crusaders' crops and cut down their trees in the region of Kerak in an attempt to weaken its ruler, Reynald de Châtillon,[666] and they harvested the enemy's produce so as to leave them with nothing.[667]

Military mobilization

Mobilization refers to a number of actions taken by the leader to gather the troops for battle and lead them to the fighting front or coordinate his commanders to respond to an enemy attack and defeat them.[668] There is no difference in the concept of mobilization between ancient times and the modern era, but the means of mobilization, the troops, the equipment used and other factors are what changes. As for the system followed by the Ayubid army, it was a five-part system.[669]

The five-part system

We think that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was not the inventor of this system but that it existed before his time. He did not differ in principle from the leaders who came before him and who were known to have implemented this system.[670] The Ayubid army was organized in the form of cadres similar to the main parts of a human body, or the shape of a cross. The trunk in the middle was like the 'heart' of the army, the vanguard was in front like the head, the right and left flanks were like the arms on each side, then the rearguard of

the army were like the two legs together in the rear. Hence you can see that the format in this system was in five parts.[671]

The sultan's place was usually in the heart of the army, and with him were his banners, so that all the commanders could see him and carry out his orders, to strengthen the army or reorganize it if that was necessary for any reason. In some cases, he would move to the front to stir up the soldiers' zeal, and to instil fear in the hearts of the enemy. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would put well-known leaders and commanders at the head of each flank. At the head of the vanguard he put the scouts, as well as cavalry, swordsmen, archers and those who were able to move swiftly in single combat and in pursuit of the enemy.[672]

The inner circle and the sultan's Mamelukes

The sultan's inner circle was composed of a number of troops who surrounded Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen like bodyguards. This inner circle played a prominent role in various battles. They played a clear role in the conquest of the coast and Crusader strongholds. Ibn al-Atheer referred to the conquest of the citadel of Barziyah, the location of which was known to be rugged and well fortified, and described how Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen divided his army into three parts so that they could take turns to fight. When the turn of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's elite forces came, they fought fiercely despite the intense heat.[673] The inner circle also played a supervisory role during the siege of Acre, moving with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen when he moved between Tell Kharubah, Shaf'amar and Tell Kaysân, which were places surrounding Acre. This inner circle were the only ones who stayed with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen after the troops returned to their homes to rest when winter came in 588 AH/ 1192 CE. Most of those in the inner circle were Egyptian troops.[674] What confirms the importance of this inner circle is that they, and they

alone, were in the heart of the Ayubid army, according to the report of Ibn Shaddâd, who was one of the inner circle.[675] It happened that the sultan went to confront the enemy accompanied by no one but the inner circle.[676] The men of the inner circle may have formed the group or battalion that was named after the sultan, *al-Firqah as-Ṣalâḥiyah* or *al-Firqah an-Nâṣiriyah.* The fighters who came under the direct command of a prominent commander would be named after him, because they were his Mamelukes or slaves. So 'an-Nooriyah' were the Mamelukes of Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood and 'al-Asadiyah' were the Mamelukes of Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh. Abu Shâmah stated that included in the estate of Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh in Egypt in 564 AH/1168 CE, he left behind a number of slaves and five hundred Mamelukes, who formed the Asadiyah battalion.[677] This means that the Ayubid army knew the Mameluke system. The Egyptian army at the time of the Mamelukes was formed from the remnants of the Ayubid army, most of whom were Turkish Mamelukes, and some Kurds.[678] The elite Mamelukes of the sultan were called 'the (inner) circle'.[679] The Ayubids followed the same method as the Seljuks and their atabegs — 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi, then his son Noor ad-Deen — in having a lot of Turkish Mamelukes and using them in the army, despite the fact that the Ayubids or the founders of the Ayubid dynasty were not atabegs and were not the Mamelukes of anyone, and no member of Banu Ayub was ever a slave.[680]

Battalions and types of army divisions based on the weapons carried by each division

The army of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was based on the division of the army into groups like squadrons. At the head of every two hundred (or one hundred or seventy) horsemen there was an *ameer muqaddam* (the rank of commander).[681] It would be said that such-

and-such a campaign included such-and-such squadrons.[682] Each fighting or auxiliary squadron had its own special character and role which distinguished it from other squadrons. This distinction was shown in the type of weapons and equipment used, and the duties given to them. The army could not move successfully or engage in any military operations unless it was able to work in complete harmony and with full coordination, with all sectors helping one another when battle was joined.

There were two basic types of squadron in the Ayubid army in addition to the auxiliaries.

The cavalry

The cavalry, who formed the backbone of the army. Their main roles were fighting, scouting and reconnaissance, because these roles required the swiftness of movement that was essential for attacking, finding out, pursuing the enemy and cutting off their retreat so that they could not get more supplies and food. Men who were sincere and chivalrous, with experience of war, were usually chosen for this duty, and they would avoid combat with the enemy in order to carry out reconnaissance. The aim of their operations was to estimate the enemy's strength and find out their weak points. In addition to that, the cavalry would lend support to places that were exposed to sudden danger. However, they were placed behind the infantry in battle order, as at-Tarsoosi explains, "Let the cavalry and superior warriors be behind the infantry, waiting to charge, then when they want to charge, a way will be opened for them through which to charge, with the cooperation of the infantry."[683]

The characteristics that were required of the true knight were physical fitness and strength, and sound knowledge of how to confront the enemy, such as unarmed combat skills, how to use a spear and the art of archery.[684] Horsemen were equipped with swords

and long spears, and wore chain mail, shields and helmets; as for their horses, it is possible that they put chain mail on them as well as their saddles.[685]

The infantry

The infantry, who formed the greater part of the army and bore the brunt of fighting and its hardships and consequences. The weapons carried by this group were light weapons, because they marched on foot. They used swords, bows and short spears. It was the infantry who drove the enemy out of their trenches and finished them off.[686] The most important duty of the infantry was protecting the army as it marched, so as to prevent it being ambushed by the enemy, and guarding the caravans which carried supplies and equipment as they were being moved.[687] In order of battle, the infantry were placed in the front lines, with the cavalry and superior fighters behind them.[688]

Other auxiliary squadrons

Other auxiliary squadrons were known by the names of the equipment that they used and the tasks they performed. So there were mangonel squadrons, testudo[689] squadrons, naphtha-thrower[690] squadrons, intelligence-gathering (scouting) squadrons, quarter-master squadrons and so on.[691]

Before heading to the coast, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen inspected his army, positioning different battalions, filling in gaps and empty spaces, and making sure that the weapons carried by the fighters were in good condition. Just before setting out for Hattin, on the day of inspection, the sultan organized the troops and checked on them from afar and close up; he showed each commander his place and his position in the right flank or left flank, from which he should not

move. He brought out the banners[692] and the courageous archers in each division, and advised each division as to how it should cooperate with others. He said, "When we enter enemy territory, it is in this order that we should enter, and this is where the locations of our battalions and heroes should be."[693]

There was a person in the army whose mission was to call out, mobilize the troops to fight and raise their morale. His place was close to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. Every time a command was issued, he would convey it in a loud voice to the army. He was called *al-Jaweesh*.[694] He would call out to the people to get ready, or if necessary he would call on a certain commander to move his troops to give help to such and such a group during the fight, if the enemy had penetrated the ranks, or he would stir up the fighters' zeal by shouting encouraging words such as, "*Yâ lil-Islam wa 'asâkir al-muwaḥḥideen!* (For the sake of Islam, O monotheist troops!)"[695]

Volunteers in the Ayubid army

In addition to the regular fighters, both cavalry and infantry, who were registered in the department of the Ayubid army, and the feudal troops belonging to the Ayubid emirs and other emirs who came under the authority of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen one after another, who supplied the Ayubid army with fighters at times of need, and in addition to the sultan's Mamelukes, there were also individuals who volunteered to put themselves at the army's disposal out of love for jihad for the sake of Allah and the desire to liberate Muslim lands from Crusader occupation. In fact the era of Islamic revival began to show clearly with the emergence of the Mujâhid 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi, the founder of the Zangid state and at the time of his son Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood ash-Shaheed. This era reached its peak at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. His era brought to mind the days of

volunteerism and jihad in the early days of Islam. It comes as no surprise to discover that the army of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen included a large number of volunteers, especially at the battle of Hatteen and the conquest of Jerusalem and subsequent battles, which has attracted the attention of historians. Ibn Katheer states that when the sultan decided to conquer Jerusalem, scholars and righteous people came to him as volunteers.[696]

The volunteers came from various Muslim social backgrounds, tribesmen, villagers and city dwellers, poor and rich alike, especially scholars of jurisprudence and Sufis.[697] Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood ordered that the call should go out to the warriors and mujâhideen, and new volunteers including the young men of the cities and strangers, to make ready and prepare to confront the Franks, the polytheists, and heresy.[698] The word 'volunteer' was used to describe those groups who were not part of the regular forces.[699] In the mosques, the sermon-givers urged the people to volunteer for the Muslim army. No sooner had the sermon-givers come down from the pulpits than the worshippers were shouting slogans and invocations, coming in groups and individually from all directions to the army camp. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sometimes delegated to the volunteers the task of executing prisoners, especially heretics or Crusader archers, as happened at Bayt al-Ahzân in 575 AH/1179 CE.[700]

Following the victory of Hattin, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen asked each one of the volunteers, including the Sufis, to execute one of the prisoners belonging to the two Crusader groups, the Templars and Hospitallers.[701] The volunteers had accomplished great things on the day of Hattin and contributed to the achievement of a swift victory against the Crusaders, when they hastened to set fire to the dry grass that surrounded the Crusaders. The flames leapt high and the fire grew hot,[702] and the wind was against the Crusaders, so it blew the

heat and smoke towards them, and they were faced with a combination of thirst, hot seasonal weather, the heat and smoke of the fire, and the heat of battle, according to Ibn al-Atheer.[703]

Auxiliary squadrons in the army

The engineer corps

The army was usually accompanied by an engineer corps and a medical corps. The former undertook missions which required specialized knowledge of the military engineering that was required for fighting, especially attacks on walls and ditches, such as setting up heavy war machines like the mangonel, testudo, heavy catapults, naphtha-thrower, and so on. They also built camps and walls, especially in places that had a sensitive military advantage; built and demolished bridges; filled in ditches; dug wells; decided where to lay siege to the walls of a city intended for conquest and where to breach its walls; diverted the course of rivers; and did other engineering tasks which made up the duties of this corps. During the siege of Jerusalem, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and his army kept circling the city for five days, and finally those who had knowledge of engineering found a suitable place in the northern side of the wall, near the Twin-Pillared Gate and the Church of Zion, and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen ordered that the siege engines be set up in that place.[704] In 581 AH/1185 CE, during the siege of Mosul, when the army of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was unable to achieve a direct military victory against it despite his many attempts because of the strength of its walls, some of his men suggested depriving the city of water by diverting the flow of the Tigris. He put this idea to the scholar of jurisprudence Fakhr ad-Deen ibn ad-Dahhân al-Baghdâdi, who was the best engineer of his era, who said, "This is possible and not impossible; it is easy and not difficult."[705]

In a letter sent by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen to the Abbasid caliph, written by his consultant, al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil, it says:

> The engineers who have experience said that it would be easy to divert the Tigris away from Mosul and thus deprive (that city) of a source of water, at which point its people would be forced to hand it over without fighting and without the harm that would be caused by intensifying the siege.[706]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did not put this idea into practice, however, and that was perhaps due to the fact that it was difficult and costly, he did not have much time, and he was interested in more important projects.[707]

The medical corps

The medical corps accompanied the army to the battlefield in order to treat the sick and wounded, which was necessary. The doctors and their aides formed what might be described as a mobile clinic, with everything that they needed of medicines, equipment and stretchers to carry the wounded and sick. This equipment was carried on the backs of animals. They would set up in the camp a tent where those who needed to could stay overnight. It seems that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's era was one in which matters to do with medicine flourished, because there was a great need for that. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and his emirs spent generously on them. In fact Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen started to take an interest in medical matters and encourage those involved in them from early on in his career. He showed a great interest in the doctors who served the Fatimid court in Egypt and the court of the atabeg Noor ad-Deen in Syria, and paid a great deal of attention to them.[708]

One of the doctors who took part in the military expeditions carried out by the Ayubid army was Abu Zakariyâ Ameen ad-

Dawlah Yaḥyâ ibn Ismâ'eel al-Andalusi, one of the students of al-Ḥakeem Muhadh-dhab ad-Deen. He accompanied the army of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in battle and then settled in Damascus, like many of the doctors of his era. It seems to us that the reason why they settled in this city was the presence of the great Noori Hospital. Damascus was also chosen because of its proximity to the battlefields, so the wounded and sick could easily be sent there. Abu Zakariyâ was unable to work at the end of his life, but the sultan allocated to him a military pension that he received until his death.[709] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did the same for other doctors, such as Ibn ad-Dahhân al-Baghdâdi and the oculist Abul-Faḍl Sulaymân al-Maṣri.[710]

One of the most famous doctors of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's corps was Muwaffaq ad-Deen Abu Naṣr As'ad, who was known as Ibn al-Matrân ad-Dimashqi; it is known that he participated in the Sultan's campaigns and worked in the Noori Hospital. He wrote a number of medical books, including one entitled *The Nâṣiri Paper on the Preservation of Health*,[711] and many others. Al-Isfahâni said concerning this doctor that he was brilliant and gentle, and was greatly praised for his sincerity. He (Abu Naṣr) earned the appreciation of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, who held him in high esteem. He was very knowledgeable, smart and intuitive.[712]

The sultan also had his own private physician, who accompanied him on campaigns, because he sometimes suffered from pain and felt unwell, and pustules appeared on his back. His companions criticized him for not taking care of his health and not getting enough rest. His response to them was, "When I ride for jihad, the pain disappears, until I dismount."[713]

His private physician not only treated the sultan; he also treated his senior emirs and army commanders. When the ruler of Irbil, Zayn ad-Deen Yoosuf Niyâltajeen fell sick with the fever that would lead to his death (during the siege of Acre in 586 AH/1190

CE), Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's doctor went to treat him.[714] The sultan himself would sometimes supervise the treatment of the wounded, as happened after the Muslims' defeat at the battle of Arsuq in Sha'bân 587 AH/September 1191 CE, when he sat and watched as the wounded were brought in and treated.[715]

Military music corps

After the jaweesh called out to the camp to get ready, the banners would be unfurled and the cymbals would start to clash. This was akin to military music or marches nowadays, and was part of what was done to stir up the zeal of the fighters.[716] Historical events prove that military music played an important role in the Ayubid army; a special place was allocated for it, which was called the *tabal khanah* ('place of drums'). With regard to this, al-Maqreezi wrote that after Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen settled in Egypt at the end of the Fatimid state, he organized the *tabal khânah.*[717] Al-Qalqashandi explained the meaning of this word, saying: The meaning is 'house of drums', for it contains drums, flutes and other instruments. These instruments were played at the time of fighting, and on other days three times a day.[718] The one who beat the drum was called *dabandar*, and the one who played the flute was called *munaffir*. The one who struck the copper cymbals against one another was called the *koosi* (from *koosât*, meaning cymbals).[719]

The custom was for the cymbals to be played when an important military personage arrived at the camp, whilst flags and banners were unfurled and flutes were also played. Every occasion had its own rhythm, which the musicians were taught to play and the fighters were trained to recognize. There was a special rhythm when circumstances dictated that fighting should not stop despite the defeat that had befallen them, so the cymbals kept playing and did not

stop.[720] There was also a special rhythm that announced glad tidings of victory. When news came in Shawwâl 587 AH/1191 CE that the Muslim fleet had captured Frankish ships that were carrying more than five hundred Crusaders, the Muslims rejoiced thereat, the victory rhythm was beat and the victory tune was played.[721]

Flag bearers

In the army there was a group whose mission was to carry and protect the sultan's banner. The flag or banner was the symbol which differentiated one group from another and one state from another. Each Muslim and non-Muslim state had its own flag with a particular colour.[722] The colour of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's flag was yellow; in the middle there was the image of an eagle, as a symbol of strength and confidence of victory.[723] Among the banners was a huge banner of yellow silk, called *al-'Iṣâbah*, on which were embroidered in gold the titles and name of the Sultan; a large banner called *al-Jâleesh*, at the top of which was a braid of hair; and a small yellow flag called *as-Sanâjiq*.[724] The large banner was usually carried with the sultan's entourage.[725] Al-'Imâd (al-Isfahâni) spoke of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's banner when the Ayubid army conquered Sidon in 583 AH/1187 CE:

The envoys of its ruler brought its keys,
and we ended its dark days,
and the yellow banner appeared on its walls.[726]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's banner is also mentioned in a number of odes composed by the poets of that era on various occasions when the Ayubid army achieved victory over the Crusaders and raised the Ayubid flag over them. When the Muslims defeated them and destroyed Bayt al-Ahzân (575 AH/1179 CE), a group of poets offered their congratulations on this occasion, among whom was

Bahâ' ad-Deen Abul-Ḥasan 'Ali as-Sâ'ati al-Khorasani, who mentioned the yellow banner in his ode.[727]

Al-'Alam ash-Shâtâni praised it in his ode, too, which begins with the words:

I see victory accompanying your yellow banner.
So march and take over the whole world,
for you deserve that.[728]

The flag was a symbol of sovereignty, and it was raised in places such as fortresses, ships and major military installations. When one party was defeated, the first thing the victor did was to pull down the banner of the defeated party and raise his banner in its place, as the Muslims did in the fortresses they conquered which had been in the hands of the Crusaders.[729] As for the Crusader flag, it was described by Ibn Shaddâd who saw it being carried on a cart. He noted:

> The enemy's flag is raised on a cart to which it is fixed and which is pulled by mules, and they fight to defend the flag. It is very high like a minaret, made of white cloth and painted with red in the shape of a cross.[730]

In other words, the Crusader flag was similar to the flag of the International Red Cross nowadays.[731]

Mail and intelligence

Organization of the mail

Organization of the mail system was done by a department that was set up for this purpose, which was called *diwân al-bareed* and was supervised by state employees, whose job was to run the affairs of this institution.[732] The Ayubid mail and intelligence systems were

famous for always being superior to what the Crusaders had. During the battle of Ramlah which took place in 573 AH/1177 CE in southern Palestine, and which ended in defeat for the Ayubid army, subsequent events proved that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had a very effective mail service. The way in which it was able to move quickly put an end to the rumours which were spreading in Egypt, which said that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had been killed. The swiftness of the mail put an end to the ambitions of men who had started preparing to topple the Ayubid rulers in Egypt. That was when Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sent his envoys from the Egyptian border on dromedaries to Cairo to confirm to anyone who may be thinking of rebelling against him that he was still alive, and carrier pigeons were sent with the good news that he was on his way back to Cairo.[733] In 578 AH/1182 CE, when Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was in Egypt, he carried out a raid on Kerak and laid siege to it for ten days. When he saw how low his army's provisions were, though, he ordered them to leave and go back to Egypt. The Ayubid historian Muhammad ibn Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar who was with the sultan's entourage said, "Whilst we were marching, the mail carriers came to him with the good news of his uncle 'Izz ad-Deen Farakh Shah's victory in the battle of Dabooriyah."[734]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's intelligence system was so accurate and swift that news of the enemy arrived continually, hour after hour, until morning,[735] especially during the siege of Acre. His intelligence network included some of the Crusaders to whom the sultan had granted security on various occasions. The importance of these people was based on the fact that they knew the language of the enemy and no one would think that they were Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's men, because of their physical appearance. They supplied the Ayubid army with news of the enemy which it would be difficult to get via his Muslim intelligence agents. On one occasion they told Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen what the enemy was intending to do, which was to take the Muslim troops unawares at night.[736] They told him about the huge

Crusader mangonel on which they had spent fifteen hundred dinars and which had been prepared to launch an attack on Acre.[737] They also supplied Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen with news of the German campaign. During the siege of Acre, all means of communication with the besieged fighters were used in order to find out about their difficult situation and to send the money they needed. Contact was made with them by using carrier pigeons and swimmers. Perhaps one of the most famous stories of heroism in the Ayubid mail system is that of a swimmer named 'Eesâ. This man was able to enter Acre despite the naval blockade, bringing instructions from the sultan in a letter which he tied around his middle, along with some money. Once he arrived in Acre, they would release a bird to inform the sultan of his safe arrival. One night he went down to the sea and tied three bags to his waist containing one thousand dinars and letters to the troops, but he could not reach the city, and he drowned off the coast of Acre.[738] They realized something bad had happened which had prevented the release of the bird. A few days later they found his body, with the pieces of gold and the wax seal of the letters around his middle. Ibn Shaddâd commented, "Never before have we heard of a dead man delivering a message entrusted to his care during his lifetime, except this man."[739]

The Yazak scout corps

Yazak is a Farsi word referring to army scouts. The Yazak were a group of scouts who were sent out in the direction of the enemy ahead of the army. The mission of the Yazak fighters was part of the intelligence system, to send information on the approaching army to the army commanders as quickly as possible. So we could say that the word Yazak referred to the system of daily dispatches sent by specialized individuals who were always on standby to go

and find out at close hand what the enemy was doing or planning to do. The members of the Yazak were chosen from among those who were sincere and courageous in war to undertake this duty. They avoided mixing with the enemy whenever possible, because the aim of their duties was to estimate the enemy's strength and find out their weak points. Hence they did not wear armour or carry shields or any other heavy equipment that might impede their progress. They chose horses that were calm, swift, of good temperament, sure-footed and strong, and were not easily spooked.[740] In fact, contemporary historians — especially Ibn Shaddâd and al-'Imâd al-Isfahâni — refer to the Yazak in their narratives, and the many missions that they undertook, of which sending information was just one.[741] Nothing is more indicative of the importance and critical nature of the Yazak's role at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen than the fact that he appointed at its head, senior military figures such as his brother al-Malik al-'Âdil[742] and his oldest son al-Malik al-Afḍal, as well as senior emirs such as Badr ad-Deen Daldaram al-Yarooqi, 'Izz ad-Deen ibn al-Muqaddim, 'Izz ad-Deen Joordeek, 'Alam ad-Deen Sulaymân ibn Jundur and others. These emirs all led the Yazak in turn. Among the missions that were entrusted to the Yazak was the task of finding out the situation in cities, especially Jerusalem, when the Crusaders were threatening to re-occupy it after it was liberated in 583 AH/1187 CE. All Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had to do was send his brother al-Malik al-'Âdil at the head of the Yazak to find out about the city's defensive strength. Al-'Âdil set out for this purpose in Ramadan 587 AH/1191 CE.[743] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did something similar when he sent the emir 'Izz ad-Deen Joordeek, Jamâl ad-Deen Farakh and others to march under the auspices of the Yazak to the vicinity of Jaffa, to find out the numbers of cavalry and infantry in the city.[744]

On some occasions the Yazak carried out ambushes, as happened on the way to Jaffa. This mission was entrusted to Badr ad-Deen Daldaram, who set up an ambush involving a good number of

troops. Some enemy cavalry came by who were guarding a caravan bringing food supplies.[745] Fighting took place between the two sides in which the enemy lost; thirty were killed and a number were taken captive.[746] The Yazak fought the Crusaders on numerous occasions. In one of their clashes, the Yazak almost captured King Richard the Lionhearted after he was stabbed, but one of the Crusaders managed to prevent his capture. Richard's compatriot offered himself in ransom for him and distracted the soldier who had stabbed Richard with the fine clothes that he was wearing. So the hapless Yazak focused on this lower ranking Crusader and captured him, and the accursed Richard escaped, leaving no trace. A number of his cavalry were killed or captured, and they fled from that encounter defeated and with their hearts filled with terror.[747] Moreover the Yazak protected the Ayubid army against the possibility of sudden attack by the Crusaders, as happened at Antioch.[748] These multifaceted responsibilities that were delegated to the Yazak are indicative of their high status in the Ayubid army, which means that this military detachment included the elite and bravest of the Ayubid army. The size of the Yazak depended on the military mission being undertaken. Hence, as is to be expected, they included a large number of horsemen. Their number was as great as one thousand on occasion, as in the case of the Yazak which Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen appointed to keep watch on Acre, when he decided to move his forces to Jabal al-Kharoobah.[749] Thus we see that the Yazak developed as its missions developed through the course of the ongoing bloody confrontations with the occupiers. It developed from a group which specialized in gathering information about the enemy into an active military organization which had certain aims of defending Ayubid army bases or Muslim cities, or launching sudden attacks on enemy camps and setting up ambushes.[750]

Pigeon post

One of the main means of communication during the Ayubid era involved the use of carrier pigeons, which are also known as homing pigeons because of their remarkable ability to find their way back to their nests over vast distances.[751] Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil described this bird in a delightful manner, calling it the "angel of kings" because it descends from the sky to the kings as the angels descended from heaven to the Prophets (peace be upon them); it never fell short with regard to what was entrusted to it, and no act of betrayal on its part can ever be imagined.[752] In addition to its ability to find its nest, this kind of pigeon was also famed for its swift flight.[753] Even if it was caught and kept away from its homeland for ten years or more, it still possessed strong mental ability, a good memory and love for its homeland, and as soon as it had the opportunity, it would fly home.[754] Hence the price of these pigeons was very high, as much as seven hundred dinars and even, sometimes, one thousand dinars. The price of a single egg of this splendid type of bird could be as much as twenty dinars.[755] There were organized stations for these carrier pigeons, which were the pigeon lofts for which keepers or guards were appointed to look after them, train them, feed them, ensure their comfort, release them and receive them. But when a pigeon landed with a message, the guard did not usually retrieve the message himself; rather he would take the bird to the caliph or sultan, lest there be some secret content in the letter which should not be seen by anyone else, even if the time was not suitable, such as if the sultan was eating or sleeping. So he would leave his food or be woken from his sleep so that there would be no delay in dealing with urgent and important matters. He would open the message himself,[756] or the head guard would do this task.[757]

Noor ad-Deen used carrier pigeons from the time he became governor of Aleppo and Syria, following the example of his father 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi, but in 567 AH he organized the pigeon system on a new basis, paying more attention to how pigeons were taken care of and where they landed in various regions of his state. This system was inherited by the Ayubid state. The appointment of guards and protocols as to how messages were written and attached to the bird, how the pigeons were received, how the messages were opened and read — all of these matters were already in place when Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen gained power. All he did was to increase the number of connections between Egypt and Syria by means of this 'air mail', until there was a network of pigeon stations in Egypt and Syria that stretched from the southernmost part of Egypt, from Aswan to Cairo, then Suez and on to Bilbeis, then from Bilbeis to Syria, and from Bilbeis also to Ṣâliḥiyah and to Qatya[758]. From Qatya it extended to al-Wâridah on the way to Gaza, then to Gaza. In other words, Bilbeis, which lies east of Cairo, was the centre for pigeons landing in Egypt. Similarly, from Gaza on the coast of southern Palestine, a line extended to Hebron, and to Lod, and from there to Qanoon,[759] and then to Jenin, Safad, Baysân, Irbid, Tafas, and then to Dameen[760] and Damascus, and from each of these centres to neighbouring cities. From Baysân to Adhra'ât;[761] from Damascus, pigeons flew to Baalbek and also to Qârah,[762] and from Qârah to Homs, and thence to Hamah, then al-Ma'arrah, then Aleppo, then Bira, and so on for the other cities of Syria and Mesopotamia.[763] These stations undoubtedly contained a large number of pigeons. Later on, it was estimated that the number of birds in the pigeon loft of Cairo alone was approximately two thousand.[764] The profession of raising pigeons became very profitable as there was a high demand for the birds, especially during the Crusader siege of Acre. Al-'Imâd al-Kâtib (al-Isfahâni) wrote:

> We began to heap a great deal of praise upon the one who raised these birds, buttering him up with special words of appreciation, asking him to give us more birds, night and day, until his stock ran low because we had asked him for so many.[765]

The Ayubid army made use of the pigeon system established by Noor ad-Deen. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and his deputies used it at times of hardship. Carrier pigeons conveyed the good news from Palestine to Egypt that the sultan was safe following the battle of Ramlah in which the Ayubid army was defeated. Al-'Imâd said, "We sent the good news with pigeons; we sent letters with the birds to put an end to all rumours and to spread reassurance after fear-mongering had broken out."[766] The Ayubid army would carry with it pigeons belonging to various regions with which it intended to make contact, or when there was a need to seek help from them, as happened in 574 AH/1178 CE, when the Crusaders gathered and marched towards Damascus with their king, raiding and plundering the outskirts, killing and taking captives. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sent word to his brother 'Izz ad-Deen Farakh Shah, telling him to take a group of soldiers with him and, when he drew near to the Crusaders, to inform him of that on the wing of a bird: in other words, by carrier pigeon. So Farakh Shah marched with his troops to seek them out.[767]

Perhaps as a confirmation of how well organized the 'air mail' system was during this period, the pigeons continued to reach Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen from all over during his lengthy siege of Acre. Ibn Shaddâd states that during Ramadân 586 AH/1190 CE, pigeons were sent from Aleppo to Hamah, and from Hamah to Acre, carrying news from the deputies of al-Malik adh-Dhâhir, the ruler of Aleppo, that enemy forces from the Crusader principality of Antioch were launching raids on villages belonging to Aleppo, taking advantage of the weakness of its forces, which was due to the fact that its troops

had gone, led by al-Malik adh-Dhâhir, to Acre. But the remaining forces in Aleppo had managed to lay ambushes and defeat the aggressors, who were completely unaware until the swords were falling on them. Seventy-five of their troops were killed and many were taken captive.[768]

The Muslims used all sorts of methods to conceal their secrets, so that the enemy would not find out about them, especially during the siege of Acre. They even used special symbols, or what we would call a code, to indicate things that had been previously agreed upon. Al-'Imâd stated that the mail officials carried letters and birds, and they would go back with letters and birds: "They would write to us and we would write to them on the wings of birds with a secret code; in these letters were written our secrets."[769]

Ambushes

There was more ambush activity during the Crusades, especially at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, than at any other period in Islamic history. This was because of the close proximity of the enemy and the ongoing friction between the Muslim forces and the Crusader strongholds that they established along the Syrian coast or close to it. The word ambush refers to the sending of small parties or expeditionary forces of fighters on horseback towards the enemy to take them by surprise and inflict casualties in limited clashes that do not lead to the level of all-out fighting. These operations were begun in secret, and so the men who fought in them had to have certain characteristics which would enable them to fulfil their mission in the required manner.[770] It seems that after 585 AH/1189 CE, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen decided that it was better to follow a policy of sending out ambush parties to harass the enemy forces and not leave them any room to relax; in the meantime he was gathering his forces around

Acre. So the Ayubid army now had to defend Acre on the one hand whilst laying siege to the Crusaders who were besieging Acre on the other, and also send ambushes to harass groups of Crusaders here and there.[771] We find that the circumstances in which the Ayubid army found itself during this period and the suitability of the Greater Syrian landscape — especially Palestine, with its foliage and mountains in which fighters could conceal themselves — made it essential for the army to organize these types of military actions which were of limited effectiveness but were aimed at disturbing the enemy and not letting them feel secure. This method of fighting is akin to that of guerrillas or special forces.[772]

Administrative matters in war and peace and to do with captives

War cabinet in Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's army

It is natural that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had helpers who aided him in managing the war, making military plans and administering the affairs of state. These helpers formed a committee, which was akin to what we would call a general staff, composed of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, who usually chaired the meetings, as it were; his brothers, especially al-Malik al-'Âdil; his older sons, especially al-Malik al-Afḍal 'Ali and al-Malik a<u>dh</u>-<u>Dh</u>âhir Ghazi; his nephews such as Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar; his maternal uncle Shihâb ad-Deen Maḥmood al-Hârimi; senior emirs and commanders; his wise consultant al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil; the qâḍi of the troops, Bahâ' ad-Deen ibn Shaddâd the historian; Bahâ' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh; Sayf ad-Deen al-Mashtoob al-Ḥakâri; other commanders such as Abul-Ḥayja' al-Hadhabâni and 'Alam ad-Deen Sulaymân ibn Jundur; the commander of the Egyptian fleet Ḥusâm ad-Deen Lu'lu'; rulers of well known cities and citadels such

as Muzaffar ad-Deen Kawkabri, Shams ad-Deen ibn al-Muqaddim, 'Izz ad-Deen Joordeek and al-Faqeeh Ḍiyâ' ad-Deen 'Eesâ al-Ḥakâri. Each of these men had the right to state his opinion openly and frankly, so long as it was based on the principle of service to the state and to the army of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.[773] The committee would meet whenever Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen thought it necessary.[774] We shall see below in shâ' Allah, in the events discussed in this book, how Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen consulted his companions on all occasions and with regard to all serious events, and he agreed with their views, sometimes willingly because he liked what they said, and sometimes unwillingly, but in the interests of protecting the Muslims' interests, making them happy and showing respect for the opinions of his commanders.[775]

Battle plans and fighting methods

The overall aim of the Ayubid army in fighting was to expel the occupying Crusaders who had settled on the Greater Syrian coast from Antioch in the north to Ascalon in the south, as well as some regions in the interior such as Jerusalem, Kerak, Edessa, Tiberias and elsewhere.[776] The strategic aim of their fighting was to regain land that had been occupied by the Crusaders since the end of the fifth century AH/eleventh century CE. In order to achieve this aim, the Muslim army used different means and methods, whether in direct confrontations with the enemy or by weakening their economy and their morale by confining them to a few concentrated locations. The Muslims — especially at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen — used different tactics to strike the Crusaders.[777] Military plans in the Ayubid army were not drawn up by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen alone: he was helped by his consultative committee, even though central command was in the hands of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. Success was usually guaranteed if the

commander was able to receive ongoing information about the enemy, otherwise he might be subject to defeat if he lost this information.[778] The Yazak played a basic role in that regard; it served as a constant source of information on enemy forces to the army leadership. Among the methods used by the Ayubid army and the operations that may be listed under the heading of tactical operations were the following:

Cutting down trees

Among the actions that were aimed at weakening the enemy, he instructed his troops to cut down the grapevines of the farms of Safad in the Jordan Valley during the battle of Bayt al-Ahzân, which took place in 575 AH/1179 CE[779], and he ordered that their produce be harvested. The aim behind that was to destroy the enemy's economy so that they could not benefit from the grapes or the wood, or the grain that the troops had already harvested.[780] This action was repeated on numerous occasions. The historian Muhammad ibn Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar al-Ayubi stated: The sultan set out with those whom he selected from among his troops and headed towards Kerak at the beginning of 578 AH/1182 CE, and reached it in a few days. There he found a large number of Franks. We camped close to them, and harassed them and put pressure on them until they retreated to the wall; we captured them, cut down their trees and grazed our animals on their farmland.[781] They did likewise when preparing for the decisive battle of Hattin, when they marched to the fortress of Kerak, intimidated its inhabitants, seized what was around it, grazed their animals on its farmland and cut down its trees and grapevines, then they marched to the fortress of Crac de Montreal and did the same thing there.[782]

Cutting off water

The tactic of cutting off water had a profound effect on weakening and defeating the enemy. It is well known that the fact that the Ayubid army had control of the springs on the day of Hattin was one of the reasons for the enemy's defeat, as they were prevented from reaching the water[783] until thirst nearly killed them.[784] The Ayubid army resorted to soiling the water of some of the springs of Jerusalem in 587 AH/1191 CE in an attempt to prevent the city from falling into Crusader hands after the defeat of the Muslims at Acre.[785] Spoiling of the water was done by throwing arsenic or dead bodies into it.[786]

Methods of rapid warfare

Another of the plans that he followed was the application of methods of rapid warfare, taking the enemy by surprise and defeating him before he could gather his strength. This method is most clearly seen between the years 583 and 584 AH (1187 and 1188 CE) when, not content with the decisive victory at Hattin, he pursued further rapid victories to prevent the Crusaders from gathering in any one place and engaging in another all-out battle with him. Immediately after Hattin, the Ayubid army attacked, one after another, Acre, Sephoria (as-Saffooriyah), Nâṣirah, Caesarea, Nablus and Darum, and conquered them all. When they could not manage to conquer the city of Tyre because of its fortifications, he had no choice but to leave it alone, but he continued his conquests in other places, and he went on to conquer Jerusalem and other cities on the coast and in the interior; he conquered Hunayn,[787] Jablah, Latakia and Mount Zion. Then he headed north and captured the fortresses of Bakkâs, Shaghar, Barziyyah, Darbasâk and Baghrâs, which surrounded the Crusader principality of Antioch. Then a division of his army went south again, and at the end of 584 AH/1188 CE they captured the

strong fortress of Kerak, which was called 'the Rock of the Desert'. Finally he conquered Safad and Kawkab, before drawing back to Damascus because of the onset of winter, so that he could get some rest.[788]

The plan to fight in turns

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen went to Tyre again, and at the walls of the city he implemented a plan which he had carried out successfully in his conquest of some other citadels, such as Barziyah. This was the plan to fight alternately,[789] which meant dividing his troops into three groups, each of which fought for a limited time, then they rested so that the fight could be continued by a second group and then a third. By following this method he aimed to exhaust the Crusaders and leave them no room to rest. However, this method was confronted with the strongly fortified walls of Tyre, in addition to the city's topography.[790]

Driving a wedge into the Crusader ranks

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen followed a policy of driving a wedge into the Crusader ranks, creating trouble among them and befriending some of their leaders, in an attempt to weaken them. Ibn Shaddâd tells us that on one occasion in Shawwâl 578 AH/1191 CE, the sultan summoned the ruler of Sidon to hear his message and listen to what he had to say. He came and brought a number of people with him, and the historian mentioned above was present. The sultan honoured his Crusader guests greatly and spoke to them, and he offered them food as was customary. When the food was cleared away, he sat alone with them and decided to offer a truce to the Marquis de Montfort, the ruler of Tyre, who was joined by a number of senior Franks, including the ruler of Sidon. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen stipulated that this dissenting Marquis should show enmity towards the Franks,

from whom he had split. The Marquis was very afraid of them, and furthermore he had disagreements with them that had something to do with marriage. The sultan agreed to certain terms with the aim of causing division amongst them, according to Ibn Shaddâd.[791]

Strengthening economic and commercial ties with the Italian city-states

Another of the wise procedures to which Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen resorted in order to weaken the enemy economically was strengthening economic and commercial ties with the Italian city-states such as Pisa, Genoa and Venice. From the time he came to power in Egypt, he did his utmost to attract trade from these cities to Egypt; he began to make arrangements with these city-states to exchange ambassadors with them. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen benefited from these agreements in two ways:

1. Increasing the income of his state by commercial activity; thus he was able to get goods he needed, such as iron, timber and wax.
2. Weakening the Crusaders' commerce, especially if we realize that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen dominated the Red Sea. No doubt this trade led to an interest in rebuilding the Ayubid Muslim fleet.[792]

In a letter addressed to the 'Abbâsid caliph in 571 AH/1175 CE, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen wrote: Among these armies are the Venetians, Pisans and Genoans, who may sometimes come as fighters whose harm will be difficult to withstand and the spark of whose evil will be difficult to extinguish, and sometimes they may come as ambassadors, complying with the rulings of Islam with regard to the goods they are trying to sell. But now all of them are bringing to our country weapons for fighting and jihad, and trying to show kindness

to us by giving gifts of their finest work. I have established contact with all of them, and have made peace with them on the basis that we have got something extra that they dislike, and on the basis of what we prefer and they do not.[793] These ties between Egypt and the Italian city-states were nothing new; rather they were a continuation of what had existed at the time of the Fatimids.[794] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen succeeded in preserving and developing them.

Destruction of cities

With regard to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's war plans, it is worth mentioning that during his final conflict with the Crusaders who were led by Richard the Lionhearted, he resorted to destroying the city of Ascalon which had been the southern key to Jerusalem and the route for caravans heading towards Egypt, and which the Muslims called 'the Bride of Syria' because of its beauty.[795] The sultan resorted to this action when his army failed to defend the city,[796] lest it be captured by the Crusaders when it was still intact, as had happened at Acre, and thus cut off the route to Egypt;[797] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen decided to save his army's defensive strength to protect Jerusalem. He consulted his brother al-Malik al-'Âdil and his senior emirs concerning that, and they agreed with his idea. 'Alam ad-Deen Sulaymân ibn Jundur, one of his senior consultants, said, "This is Jaffa where the enemy has camped, and it is a city that lies between Ascalon and Jerusalem. There is no way to protect both cities, so go ahead and destroy its walls and citadel."

Thus the decision was made to destroy Ascalon.[798] In fact this city was not the only one to suffer this fate; he decided to destroy the fortress of Ramlah too,[799] as well as the fortress of Natrun which belonged to the Templars,[800] part of the wall of Jaffa, Gaza, Lod and Darum on the southernmost coast of Greater Syria, which Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen destroyed when he took control of the coast in 584 AH. This is

what happened to the fortress of Sarmeeniyah too. After al-Malik adh-Dhâhir Ghazi captured it in Jumâda II 584 AH/1188 CE, he expelled its inhabitants before destroying it and levelling it, leaving no trace of it.[801] He destroyed the fortress of Yazoor on the coast of Ramlah in Palestine and at the same time destroyed the town of Bayt Jibreen, just before making a peace deal with Richard.[802]

Securing the route connecting Egypt and Syria

Another action that came under the heading of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's strategic planning was securing the route connecting Egypt and Syria, the distance of which took approximately thirty days to travel.[803] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen fortified the citadels and halting places, and set up guards along the route connecting Egypt and Syria, thus restoring security and peace to Sinai. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and his commanders also used this route when coming and going to Syria.[804]

Fortifying cities and border posts

He took care to fortify the cities of Fustat and Cairo, and the borders and entry points into Egypt, the most important of which at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen were Alexandria, Damietta, Rasheed, 'Aydhâb and Tees. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen understood the extent of the danger that could befall Egypt from the north at the hands of the Crusaders. What happened at Damietta when Amalric besieged it by land and sea in 565 AH/1169 CE made him pay a great deal of attention to that border city, and he was keen to fortify it. He also made sure to fortify the Red Sea coast. With regard to the Egyptian interior, the most important fortifications he built were in the city of Cairo. The sultan began to build the walls of Cairo because most of them had been destroyed and it had become impossible to prevent anyone from entering or leaving the city; he appointed Qaraqoosh al-Khâdim in charge of that.[805]

The fighting season

Preparations for fighting began at the end of winter, when temperatures began to rise with the arrival of spring. During the winter, the two sides did not engage beyond a few brief clashes, setting up ambushes and sending out scouts to find out what the enemy was doing. If we look at the period of battles we will see that they happened during a period of eight or ninth months, starting when the period of intense cold ended, and ending with the onset of winter.[806] If we follow the log of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's daily movements which were recorded by al-Isfahâni, Ibn Shaddâd and other contemporary and later historians, we will see that fighting and the arrival of armies from other provinces at the battlefield came to a halt in winter, but as soon as this cold and muddy season ended — especially in Syria — the army's activities resumed and preparations were begun anew to confront the enemy, and forces from the provinces arrived at the battle zone.[807] After the fighting season ended, the troops would go back to their own lands. Al-Isfahâni states that when the intensity of winter attacked and autumn came to an end, and the mountain peaks turned white with snow and the ground turned muddy in the camp, the emirs asked Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen for permission to go back to their own lands so that they could rest and recuperate. So the ruler of Sinjar departed, followed by the ruler of Jazeerah, Ibn 'Umar, and after him the son of the ruler of Mosul left.[808] Ibn Shaddâd states in that regard, under the heading, "Return of the troops from jihad," that when winter attacked and the sea became wild, and we became certain that the enemy was not going to gather troops or march to besiege any Muslim city because of the intensity and great frequency of rain, the sultan gave permission to the Muslim troops to go back to their homelands, so that they and their horses could rest until the time for action came.[809] On many occasions the troops came to the battlefield to support the main

Ayubid army after the winter ended, then they went back to their homelands when that season came again.[810]

During the days of fighting, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would be cheerful and optimistic if fighting occurred on a Friday, because of the status and sanctity of this day among Muslims. This does not mean that he refrained from fighting on other days of the week, waiting for Friday; rather he would be optimistic about the outcome of the fighting if it happened to occur on a Friday. During the battle of Hattin, he sent his troops in the middle of the day on a Friday in Rabee' II in 583 AH, seeking blessing through the supplications of the sermon-givers on the minbars, in the hope that this would be more likely to receive a response.[811] The army of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen entered Acre on a Friday.[812] During the conquest of the citadels on the northern Syrian coast, the citadels surrounding Antioch, it so happened that every conquest occurred on a Friday, which was a sign that the supplications of the Muslim sermon-givers had been accepted, which brought joy to the sultan as he had been enabled to conquer them on the day on which rewards for good deeds are multiplied.[813] Perhaps Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's war council planned for fighting to happen on Fridays, which means that this day had a good effect on the Muslim fighters and motivated them to achieve heroic exploits in the fight.[814] We do not think that victory and defeat have anything to with a specific day; rather the effect of Friday with regard to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's army was psychological. Victories occurred on other days too, and indeed, his army also suffered some defeats on Fridays.[815]

Treatment of prisoners

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was not inclined to shed blood and take revenge on Crusader captives, even though they had come as invaders and occupiers of Muslim land. Among the reports that have

been narrated in this regard, we see that he prevented his sons from killing prisoners so that this desire to shed blood would not develop in them, because if they got used to killing their prisoners whilst they were young, they might do that without differentiating between Muslims and non-Muslims.[816] Rather he warned his son al-Malik adh-Dhâhir — when he was twenty years old — against shedding blood in the advice he gave to him during his final illness.[817]

In general, we find that the treatment of prisoners varied between putting them to work in forced labour, detaining them in Damascus, offering them for sale (as slaves) and executing them. Perhaps it would be correct to say that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did not differ from previous leaders or rulers in the way he treated prisoners, such as Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood in whose footsteps Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen followed in the way he ruled. He executed prisoners on some occasions, as happened in 552 AH/1157 CE, when some prisoners were brought to him, and he ordered that they be beheaded. Similarly, Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood imprisoned them on most occasions, especially the senior leaders, as happened with Reynald de Châtillon, the ruler of Antioch then of Kerak, whom he detained for fifteen years, then the emir Gumushtigin, one of the emirs of Noor ad-Deen, let him go after the latter's death, so as to annoy Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.

The aim of keeping prisoners alive — especially the rulers and princes among them — was to make use of them in exchanging them for Muslim prisoners, as it is well known that Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood was very keen to ransom Muslim prisoners, whether by exchanging prisoners or paying ransoms, especially the Maghrebi prisoners, because they were strangers in Syria and had no family there. Among the things that Ibn Jubayr mentioned in this regard was that among the kindness bestowed by Allah upon the Maghrebi prisoners in Syria, kings and rich men would allocate some of their own money to ransom the Maghrebi prisoners.[818]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was very keen to follow the example of Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood; indeed he often released poor Crusader prisoners for nothing in return, as happened when he conquered Jerusalem, in addition to ransoming Muslim prisoners. That was a must for him, as he was responsible for the lives of the fighters, and because by freeing them from captivity he was releasing a detained Islamic force. Hence this was a good deed and an act of piety. Some of his emirs also followed this practice. Among the reports about Muzaffar ad-Deen Karkabarri, the ruler of Irbil and son in law of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, it is said that he sent messengers twice a year to the coast of Syria, carrying a great deal of money to free Muslim prisoners from the clutches of the Crusaders.[819] Sibt ibn al-Jawzi said: The wealth of his emirate has been used up in charity. This historian estimated the number of Muslim prisoners who were freed by this emir as sixty thousand, including both men and women.[820]

One of the events which highlight the good treatment of prisoners is what happened in 587 AH/1191 CE, when forty-five Crusaders were brought to him from Beirut, among whom was a very old man who had no teeth left in his mouth. When he was brought before Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, he asked the interpreter to ask him the reason why he had come to the east when he was so old, among other questions. The elderly Crusader replied to the Sultan's questions, and the Sultan felt sorry for him and released him with no ransom, sending him back to the enemy camp on a horse.[821] At the same time, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen imposed the severest punishments on some of the prisoners because they had committed the most heinous crimes that could not be forgiven except by shedding their blood, and by exposing their crimes before starting to kill them,[822] as will be explained below in shâ' Allah. We find that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen thought it preferable to keep prisoners alive so that he could make use of their labour in some projects. When he began to build the citadel of Cairo (known as the Citadel of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen), he put these prisoners to

work on this hard labour, cutting marble and huge rocks and digging the ditch that surrounded the fortress, which was dug from the rock with pickaxes, work which was so hard to do that there was no way — as Ibn Jubayr says — to employ anyone in this construction except the non-Muslim, Frankish prisoners.[823] A later Egyptian historian stated that Qaraqoosh employed fifty thousand Crusader prisoners in the building of the Citadel and the walls.[824]

Peace deals between Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and the Crusaders

The first peace deal between Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and the Crusaders occurred at the beginning of 571 AH/summer 1175 CE, when Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen first settled in Syria. Undoubtedly the pressure of political, economic, military and other circumstances was what motivated him to make a truce with the Crusaders. In addition, he needed extra time to settle accounts with the Muslim groups who were opposed to him, as he was the leader who was supposed to lead the Islamic front against the Crusaders. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen also needed to block the way for the Muslim groups who wanted to cooperate with the Crusaders at his expense, especially the atabegs of Mosul and Aleppo.[825] All of these reasons motivated the sultan and the Crusaders to stop the fighting and establish a period of peace between the two sides.

When the truce had been concluded, the sultan ordered the Egyptian troops to return to Egypt, because there was no longer any need for them to be in Syria, in addition to the difficult economic situation in Syria — as we have noted. Similarly, Egypt was in need of its troops at harvest time. Al-Isfahâni states that the Sultan gave the Egyptian troops permission to go back to Egypt and stay there for a while.[826] In fact Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did not make this truce or any other without still being cautious that the Crusaders might break it, as

indeed happened; neither did he lay down arms or feel content with a truce with the enemy occupiers. On the contrary, he kept his army in a state of continual preparedness, always watchful, and the fear of treachery did not stop him from engaging in skirmishes. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen also consulted his war council when he decided to make an agreement with the enemy to stop fighting.[827]

Weapons of the Ayubid army

The ongoing state of war with the Crusader invaders which affected the region, particularly Greater Syria, led to the establishment of an active war industry, especially since this region had abundant supplies of some of the necessary raw materials as well as many skilled artisans. Greater Syria was known for the wide availability of timber from the thick mountain forests, especially pine trees, various types of oak, beech and other trees. However, the region was known for its scarcity of iron, but the rulers — especially Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen — compensated for this shortfall by importing iron from Italy and elsewhere. Iron was found only in a few areas of Syria and Mosul, and it is most likely that this iron was still being mined at the time of the Crusades, whether by the Muslims or the Crusaders when they occupied this area. In addition to that, the region of Mosul was rich in tar, and in the naphtha that was needed for the naphtha throwers.[828] Mosul supplied Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen from time to time with whatever its land and artisans could give. It sent him loads of white naphtha, shields and spears, yielding the best and finest of each type.[829]

Egypt was rich in various kinds of wood, which was used in shipbuilding.[830]

With regard to the kinds of weapons used, they were as follows:

- Individual or light weapons such as the sword, the dagger, the spear,the axe, the mace,the bow, and the slingshot.[831]
- Heavy weapons such as the naphtha and fire thrower, or weapons operated by a group, such as the mangonel, the testudo and the like.
- Armour, like the head covering worn under the helmet, the iron helmet, the coat of mail and the horse's coat of mail, were worn to protect the body. These items were worn by the knight or horseman and he clothed his horse likewise, for protection against being burned by fire.[832]
- There was also the *muthallathât* (triangles), a small tool made of iron or wood in the shape of a triangle with sharp edges,[833] and so on.

The Ayubid navy

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's strategy changed after he moved from Syria to Egypt and found areas of weakness in the latter. He began to fortify its cities, build citadels and organize the army to prevent the possibility of attacks against it. At that time he focused on building up naval forces because he was aware of the strength of the Franks at sea and their weakness on land, and he realized that it was essential to build a war fleet to blockade the Frankish naval convoys which were supplying the Crusader kingdoms on the Syrian coast with food, weapons and men every time the pressure against them on land increased.

At that time Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen discovered that the structure of the state in Egypt was weak and vulnerable, so he had no option but to reorganize its legislative and administrative affairs before starting to confront the Franks. Here it is essential to point out two matters that

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen dealt with in addition to building a war fleet and fortifying the walls and the citadels. Firstly, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen realized the importance of keeping the trade and transportation routes between the Mediterranean and Red Sea open and, secondly, he recognized the difference between the interests of the merchants of the Mediterranean European cities and the ambitions of the rulers of the Latin kingdoms in central and north-western Europe. So he signed trade agreements with them in return for their breaking their ties with the coast of Syria and Palestine. He also recognized the possibility that trade caravans might be exposed from the rear, as well as the possibility that the Hajj caravans might also be exposed to danger. Hence he ordered that his army be sent to Yemen, to secure the sea lanes and put an end to pirate activity and attacks against the pilgrim caravans.[834]

Activities of the Ayubid navy

The researcher may note that the Ayubid navy went through three stages:

The initial stage

In this stage, which we may call the preparatory stage, when the foundations were laid for the Ayubid fleet in Egypt, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen carried out a number of reforms. He reorganized the fleet, setting up for it a separate department under his brother's supervision, giving him the authority to take whatever raw materials he required and to recruit the men he needed. Thus the new state acquired a fleet that was able — with support from the land forces — to defend the borders of Egypt, starting from 565 AH/1168-1169 CE. The fleet continued to grow, and by 575 AH/1179 AH, its numbers

had multiplied to include sixty men-of-war and twenty lighter ships. The men-of-war, in particular, entered Byzantine territory and harassed the Frankish coast, capturing a thousand non-Muslims and bringing them as captives in chains, and killing the senior officers.[835]

The stage of Ayubid naval strength in Egypt

This stage lasted from 757 AH/1180 CE and ended at the beginning of 579 AH/1183 CE, nearly four years. During this period the Ayubid fleet managed to carry out a number of war operations against the Crusader fleet, and to repel attacks launched by the enemy, once the number of ships had increased and the resolve for jihad grew strong.[836] The first war operation carried out by the Ayubid fleet was its confrontation with the enemy in a naval battle in 575 AH/1180 CE, in which it achieved victory and managed to capture a large Crusader ship, with which they brought a thousand prisoners. This naval victory was accompanied by the Ayubid army's victory in the battle of Bayt al-Ahzân, so there was victory on both land and sea.[837] It was no coincidence that the Ayubid forces achieved these two victories at the same time, because Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's victories started coming so swiftly that the Crusaders could not keep up with him, and he was not content only with defeating the enemy, destroying Bayt al-Ahzân and raiding Tyre, Sidon and Beirut, but he ordered the fleet to go out a second time from Egypt to attack Acre, the 'Constantinople of Syria', as al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil put it. They managed to capture numerous Crusader ships and started destroying, breaking and scuttling them. This was something the like of which the Islamic fleet had never done before, not even when Islam was strong and disbelief was weak.[838]

Perhaps the greatest and most resonant victory was that which Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's fleet achieved in the Red Sea. In Sha'bân 578/ Autumn 1182 CE, the Crusader commander Reynald de Châtillon

took advantage of the fact that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was preoccupied with the siege of Mosul, and launched a huge venture that had several aims, including gaining control of the Red Sea, attempting to cut off the two Holy Sanctuaries, and trying to persuade the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia to take part in the Crusades.

Reynald attempted to gain control of the Red Sea by occupying Eilat on the Gulf of 'Aqabah and 'Aydhâb on the southern Egyptian coast, overlooking this sea. His targets included Jeddah and Râbigh on the Arabian coast, from whence he planned on occupying Aden; thus the waters of this sea would be at the mercy of the Crusaders, and in this way they would gain control of the trade routes, then they would reach the waters of the Indian Ocean.

Reynald also planned to cut off the two Holy Sanctuaries, the heart of the Muslim world, from the rest of the Muslim lands, whether by land or by sea. This attempt was aimed as an act of provocation against all the Muslims and at sending a wave of panic and fear among them. The Crusaders even resolved to enter Madinah and take the body of the noble Prophet (ﷺ) from his tomb.[839]

Reynald de Châtillon hoped to persuade the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia to take part in the Crusades. Reynald made preparations to carry out his naval venture. He ordered that the forests in the area under his control be cut down; he cut down the palm trees of al-'Areesh, and he made ships from the wood, which he tested in the waters of the Dead Sea.[840] He also asked the Crusaders of Ascalon to make more ships, until he had a fleet formed of five large ships and a large number of medium-sized and small ships. Then his men transported the ships in pieces to the coast of the Gulf of 'Aqabah, carried on the backs of hired camels belonging to the local Bedouin after he tempted them with money.[841] Reynald sent a land army to Tabuk to block any military reinforcements that the ruler of Eilat might summon from Syria or Egypt. Reynald de Châtillon

travelled by sea and headed towards Eilat; it fell to him after a brief resistance. His forces were unable to occupy the citadel, Jazeerat Fir'awn (the 'Island of Pharaoh'), but they prevented its people from acquiring water, so they suffered intense hardship, according to Ibn al-Atheer.[842]

The remaining ships of the fleet continued to raid the African coast, attacking everything that crossed their path, until they reached 'Aydhâb, where they captured merchant ships laden with goods that had come from Yemen and other areas such as India and Aden. The Muslims panicked when they saw the Crusader ships roaming the Red Sea, because it had never happened that they saw any Franks in that area, whether merchants or fighters.[843] The Crusaders did terrible things, such as burning nearly sixteen Muslim ships. They captured a ship carrying pilgrims, and burned food supplies that were being sent to Makkah and Madinah. This was in addition to killing and capturing people, and other atrocities that they carried out on land and sea.[844]

From 'Aydhâb, the Crusaders set out for the eastern shore of the Red Sea (the Hijaz) where they set fire to the ships anchored at al-Hawra' and Yanbu, the two ports of Madinah, then they penetrated further south until they reached Râbigh, one of the ports of Makkah, near which they sank a pilgrim ship that was heading towards Jeddah.[845] This news reached Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in a letter that was sent by the man in charge of the citadel of Eilat, who was staying in Mosul. The sultan sent word to his brother and deputy in Egypt, al-Malik al-'Âdil Abu Bakr, urging him to take the necessary steps to respond to the aggressors as soon as possible. It seems that al-Malik al-'Âdil was already preparing for this mission before the request of his brother the Sultan reached him.[846] He ordered the admiral of the fleet, Ḥusâm ad-Deen Lu'lu', to get ready for a military campaign. Ḥusâm ad-Deen constructed a fleet in the cities of Fustat and

Alexandria, then dismantled the ships and carried them on camels to the coast of the Gulf of Suez. The ship pieces were accompanied by Maghrebi fighters, who then reassembled them.

The admiral Ḥusâm ad-Deen Lu'lu' divided the ships of his fleet into two groups. The first headed towards the citadel of Eilat and captured all the enemy ships, killing most of those on board, apart from a few who managed to escape and hide in the mountain passes and valleys. The admiral sent his men after them; they found them and finished them off like an eagle swooping down on its prey.[847] As for the second group, he sent them towards 'Aydhâb but they did not find any of the enemy there, so they started to search for the enemy fleet and found one ship near al-Hawra'. They disembarked from their ships and started fighting them, pursuing any who fled. They captured one hundred and seventy of them and freed the Muslim prisoners; then they captured their ships and the goods on board.[848] The admiral returned with his victorious fleet to Egypt, bringing the prisoners with their legs in irons. Their entry into Alexandria on 1 Dhul-Hijjah 578 AH/1183 CE was a great day that coincided with the arrival of the famous traveller Ibn Jubayr to that city. He saw a crowd of people who had gathered to watch the Crusader prisoners being brought into the city riding on camels, facing backwards, to the sounds of drums and flutes.[849] Al-Malik al-'Âdil ordered that they be beheaded and that none of them be left alive so that no one would be able to tell the route to that sea or any other information about it.[850] Some Sufi men, scholars and prominent religious figures took on the task of executing them.[851] As it says in the letter of al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil to the court of the caliph in Baghdad:

> There was no question about these disbelievers being executed; there was no Sharia justification for keeping them alive and no interest to be served by doing so. Let us be resolved to kill them so that no others like them would dare to

do their deeds again. Their actions were so terrible; Islam had never seen the like before.[852]

It so happened that it was Hajj season, so the Muslims took some of the prisoners to Mina to slaughter them like the sacrificial animals.[853] The success of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's fleet in responding to the Crusader raid was a very bitter experience for the raiders. More than any other incident, it contributed to increasing the fame of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and strengthening his position among Muslims. It also increased the fame of the admiral Ḥusâm ad-Deen Lu'lu'.[854]

As for the leader of the Crusader campaign, Reynald de Châtillon, he managed to escape captivity and return to his fortress at Kerak like a wounded wolf licking its wounds,[855] to continue planning his aggression against the Muslims. But Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen announced that he would never forgive him for his attempt to violate the two Holy Sanctuaries, and he vowed to take revenge on him himself.[856] Neither this Crusader ruler nor any other Crusader leader was able to repeat this bitter experience in the Red Sea, which remained a Muslim sea. Perhaps the last action undertaken by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's navy during this period was when it set out at the beginning of 579 AH/1183 CE and travelled far into the Mediterranean to look for Crusader ships. They found a large ship carrying three hundred and seventyfive fighters and their weapons.[857] It was heading towards the occupied Syrian coast, carrying wealth and weapons. The Muslims fought them and both sides stood firm for a while, then the Muslims were victorious; they captured the remaining crew and took them and the booty back to Egypt.[858]

The stage after Hattin until the treaty of Ramlah (583-588 AH)

After the decisive victory of Hattin, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's army continued to achieve victories on various fronts, conquering the border posts and fortresses in northern Syria, Palestine and the Jordan Valley. But the activity of the fleet remained below the level required in military operations, and its role in helping to reduce the land army's heavy burden of fighting to conquer the coastal cities was limited. This was not the result of weakness on the part of the Ayubid navy so much as the result of the strength of the Crusader navy. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was aware of this difference and did not want his fleet to play a major role. In addition to that, he was worried about the attacks that the enemy might launch on the Egyptian coast if he sent all his naval forces to the Syrian coast. Hence we see that the land army did not conquer inland citadels and fortresses only, but it also conquered coastal cities such as Acre, Beirut, Ascalon, Latakia and others.

Nonetheless, this did not prevent his fleet from undertaking some missions to support his army. In Tyre things grew very difficult for Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's army, as they were fighting on three fronts: the besieged city with its fortified walls, the northern front and the southern front surrounding the city. Thus the Crusaders found them an easy target for arrows from their ships, which were anchored on both sides of the place where the Muslims were fighting the people in the city. They shot at and wounded the Muslims from their port, and their arrows also reached from one side to the other because the place was so narrow. Many Muslims were killed or wounded, but they could not get near the city.[859]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen soon sent for the Egyptian men-of-war anchored off the coast of the recently conquered city of Acre, and these ships arrived in the nick of time. The Muslims were able to get

close to the walls of the city and they fought on land and sea, putting pressure on the enemy, and it was expected that the city would fall after that. For these reasons the mission that was given to the fleet was of particular importance. One of its tasks was to blockade the port and prevent any help reaching the Crusaders in Tyre by sea. Because of this, the fighters inside the city could not hold out for long.[860]

However, the Muslims grew a little careless in carrying out their mission of preventing Crusader ships from getting close to Tyre. Whilst five ships of the Ayubid navy were on guard to prevent the Crusaders from entering or leaving Tyre, they thought that everything was under control; the guards felt safe and went to sleep just before dawn, and the men of the Crusader navy took this opportunity to attack them. They killed whomever they wanted to kill, took the rest in their ships and brought them into the port of Tyre, as the men of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's army on land were watching. The commander of the Muslim fleet was 'Abd as-Salâm al-Maghrebi, whom Ibn al-Atheer described as proficient in his work and courageous,[861] and Badrân al-Fârisi was with him.[862] Some of the sailors who had been captured in their man-of-war whilst they were asleep managed to throw themselves into the sea, and some of them swam and were saved but others drowned. As for the remaining five men-of-war, the Sultan asked their captains to head towards Beirut, because he could not benefit from their presence as they were too few, so they left, but the Crusader ship pursued them, and all the Muslim sailors and fighters on board threw themselves from the ships onto land. Thus they saved themselves and abandoned their ships.

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did not allow these ships to fall into Crusader hands, however; he ordered a number of his men to go out and scupper them, then he returned to fighting Tyre on land.[863] As was to be expected, the Sultan was saddened by this disaster, and the

disbelievers rejoiced at this strike.[864] Thus the Ayubid fleet failed to take part in the battle for one of the coastal cities in Crusader hands. This operation was the only one undertaken by this fleet in this arena, and it was not repeated in the conquest of other cities. But it may be noted that the fleet resumed its activities during the lengthy Crusader siege of Acre, to help the city withstand the siege and supply it with much needed weapons, food and fighters.[865]

The most important naval reforms of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen

In order to revive the navy in Egypt, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen undertook a number of reforms, as follows:

Requisitioning the forests of Egypt

The forests of Bahsana, Safat, Ashmooneen, Asyut, Akhmeem and Qoos were especially sought after. The value of a single plank of wood was one hundred dinars, according to al-Maqreezi.[866] According to this edict, no one was allowed to deal in trees, so that their timber might be used. This edict remained in effect until the end of the Ayubid era in Egypt, despite the neglect of the navy. In this regard, 'Uthmân Ibrâheem an-Nabulsi, who was a contemporary of the Ayubid state in Egypt, mentioned that the forests came under the same ruling as metals, which was that they belonged to the treasury of the Islamic state, and no one had any right to ownership of them, with no exceptions.[867] This law also applied to other necessary materials which the state also imported from elsewhere, especially iron and timber, which were needed to build ships. The Ayubid state had connections and trade relations with the Italian republics, by means of which it acquired what it needed of these two raw materials.[868]

What confirms the application of this law concerning these materials is what was stated by the Egyptian historian mentioned above, an-Nabulsi, that all timber, iron, lead and other types of material were brought to Egypt by sea, and they were sold to the naval department nearly at cost. The department bought them in order to build men-of-war and other kinds of ships, as well as for building construction and making stockpiles of weapons.[869] In Alexandria there was a department called the Sultan's store, whose role was to buy imported goods needed by the state for military purposes, especially those needed for building ships. The men in charge of the store bought these goods with the assets from the war tax which was imposed on merchants. In addition to what we have mentioned, in building his fleet Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen also made use of the pines and cedars that grew in the forests of Lebanon, and the iron which was mined in the mountains of Lebanon near Beirut.[870] If this is true, then this happened after those regions were regained by the Muslims, after 583 AH/1187 CE.

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen establishes the Naval Department

In order to fund the naval department he allocated for its expenses the land tax of Fayum and its environs, and the land tax of al-Barr al-Sharqi and al-Barr al-Gharbi. Al-Barr ash-Sharqi included the areas of Bahteen, Ameeriyah and Minya, and al-Barr al-Gharbi included the areas of Safat, Nahya and Waseem al-Basâteen outside Cairo. He also allocated for this purpose the yield of Natrun, which at that time was estimated at eight thousand dinars per year, as well as whatever zakâh funds were acquired in Egypt, which was more than fifty thousand dinars, in addition to the fees collected from government boats.[871]

Raising living standards of sailors and workers

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen paid attention to raising the living standards of the sailors and shipyard workers and those involved in connected industries, so as to improve their situation and encourage people to join the navy and work in shipbuilding. It was decided that the dinar of the fleet would be equivalent to three-quarters of a dinar after it had previously been five-eighths; in other words, it was an increase of 17.5% on its previous value.[872]

Appointment of leaders for the fleet

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen appointed important military personnel to lead the fleet. Although the sources do not mention the names of those who worked in the administration of Ayubid naval affairs in the early years of Ayubid history, apart from the name of the prominent commander Ḥusâm ad-Deen Lu'lu', who was famous for repelling the attack of Reynald de Châtillon, as we have seen above, and the names of a few ships' captains such as Ya'qoob al-Ḥalabi, Jamâl ad-Deen Muhammad ibn Arkakaz, Badrân al-Fârisi, Muhammad ibn Isḥâq, 'Abd as-Salâm al-Maghrebi and others. The fact that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen appointed his brother al-Malik al-'Âdil head of the navy in later years definitively points to the extent of his concern for the Naval Department. When al-Malik al-'Âdil began his work, he appointed Ṣafi ad-Deen 'Abdullâh ibn 'Ali ibn Shukr[873] to be his deputy in supervising the administration of the fleet. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen granted the commander of the fleet far-reaching authority to carry out naval missions. After Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had finished preparing the fleet in 572 AH/1176 CE, he wrote to all lands saying, "The one in charge of the fleet has full authority and should not be prevented from taking his men and whatever he needs." — and he ordered the commander of the fleet not to leave the sea.[874]

Fortifying the borders

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen paid a great deal of attention to fortifying the borders; he decided to carry out large-scale operations at different times to maintain and refurbish towers and walls, and dig ditches around them; he allocated large amounts of money to this mission and appointed men who were qualified to implement these plans, such as Bahâ' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh, to whom he entrusted the mission of renewing and building many military installations and other projects.[875] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen visited to inspect and oversee fortification and construction projects that were going on in the cities on the Mediterranean coast, especially at Alexandria and Damietta, and also Tanees. Following his return from his first journey to Syria, he set out in Sha'bân 572 AH/1176 CE with his two sons, al-Malik al-Afḍal 'Ali and al-Malik al-'Azeez 'Uthmân, as well as al-Isfahâni, the well known historian, and went via Damietta, where he saw how the work was progressing and saw precautions being taken.[876]

In 577 AH/1181 CE, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen appointed troops to man the two towers that stood at either end of the city facing the sea, and he ordered that the boats be chained together so that the defenders of the city might fight on them if the enemy managed to penetrate between the two towers. In the same year he also ordered that the walls of Damietta be refurbished and the holes in them repaired. Later on, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen ordered that the ditch of Damietta be dug, and a bridge be built near the chain of the tower.[877] Then he left Damietta and went to Alexandria, where — as the historian said — the sultan refurbished the encircling wall. He did not leave before he had issued instructions that its border posts be completed and the fleet developed.[878] This was the second inspection visit that he made to Alexandria; he made a third and final visit to Alexandria in 577 AH/1181 CE, to see the walls that had been refurbished and the construction work that he had initiated, and ordered that it be

completed.[879] Among the fortifications that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen ordered built in Alexandria during this visit was when he ordered Fakhr ad-Deen Qarâjah to break up four hundred Roman columns which surrounded the lighthouse, and place them on the shoreline. This was possibly to prevent enemy boats from reaching the port, or to reduce the strength of the waves against the wall of Alexandria.[880]

Encouraging men to join the navy

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen encouraged men to join the navy and brought in qualified elements from outside Egypt. His attempts succeeded because of the enticements offered to them by the navy department, or because of the spirit of jihad in the Muslims' hearts which urged them to volunteer and work in the fleet, so that those who served in the fleet were called mujâhideen fighting for the sake of Allah against the enemies of Allah, and people sought blessing from their supplications.[881] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen himself set a brilliant example of jihad. His historian Ibn Shaddâd, who had seen a great deal of the terrors of the sea, said that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen turned to him one day when they were talking and said to him:

> I am thinking that if Allah enables me to conquer the rest of the coast, I will divide the land, give my last instructions and bid farewell, then I will travel by sea to their islands and pursue them there until there is no one left on the face of the earth who disbelieves in Allah, or I will die.[882]

The role of the Maghrebis in the Muslim fleet

The Maghrebis were the ones who responded most to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's call to work in the navy. They were the ones on whom he relied in preparing the Egyptian fleet, to such an extent that it became

their exclusive preserve, according to al-Maqreezi, because they were well acquainted with the ways of the sea.[883] It is known that the Maghrebis became very famous in the east, especially in terms of naval jihad, because of their skill in piloting ships and navigation, and in the arts of naval warfare. Hence they were known as the knights of the sea from an early stage, and the Fatimids, Ayubids, Mamelukes and Ottomans all sought their help in the administration of their fleets. The traveller Ibn Jubayr states that the naval campaign led by Ḥusâm ad-Deen Lu'lu' against the Crusaders in the Red Sea at the time of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen involved a large number of Maghrebi naval heroes.[884] Perhaps the greatest evidence of the Maghrebis' specialization in naval affairs at that time is that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sent his envoy 'Abd ar-Rahmân ibn Munqidh to the ruler of the Maghreb, Ya'qoob al-Manṣoor al-Muwaḥḥidi, asking him for naval help to attack the Crusader posts in Syria. Despite the reports that al-Manṣoor refused Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's request because he did not address him in his letter as Ameer al-Mu'mineen, in other words, he did not acknowledge the al-Muwaḥḥid caliphate, the Maghrebi historian as-Salâwi an-Nâṣiri suggests that al-Manṣoor sent Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen one hundred and eighty warships to keep the Crusader ships away from the Syrian coast.[885]

Maghrebi participation in the jihad against the Crusaders in Egypt and Syria took place on both land and sea. In this regard, we find a great deal of material in biographies and accounts of journeys which describe their actions and exploits, and mention the names of those who were martyred and buried there in Palestine. It is sufficient to refer in particular to the Andalusian traveller Ibn Jubayr, who visited Egypt and Syria. This Maghrebi traveller has given us valuable information about the activities of the Maghrebi mujâhideen in the Crusades. For example, he refers to the additional tax that was imposed by the Crusaders in Syria only on Maghrebi merchants and not on other Muslim merchants. The reason for that was because a

number of Maghrebi heroes fought alongside the sultan Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood Zangi and captured one of the Crusader fortresses after a display of rare and exemplary courage. So the Franks punished them by imposing an additional tax of one dinar on every Maghrebi merchant who passed through their colonies in Syria — this was in addition to the taxes paid by other Muslim merchants — as a penalty for their courage.

Ibn Jubayr also speaks of the interest taken by Muslim kings, wealthy men and rich ladies in ransoming Maghrebi prisoners because they were far from their homeland. This was in addition to the many endowments that were set up for Maghrebis who settled in Syria.[886] The Maghrebis played a noble role in jihad. They were always in touch with their brothers in the east in both good times and bad, in the fields of knowledge and of jihad. They offered their fighting expertise to their eastern brothers at the time of the Zangids and Ayubids, and they did not withhold their military capabilities from the Ayubids; they used them to confront the Crusader fleets. This shows us that the Muslim peoples were always interacting with one another and joining forces under the banner of Islamic jihad whenever the ummah was exposed to danger. One of the important lessons we learn from this is that of the Muslims overcoming, by means of their religion and beliefs, the constraints of narrow-minded nationalism and tribalism. Noor ad-Deen was a Turk, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was a Kurd, Yoosuf ibn Tashfeen was a Berber and the Abbasid caliph was an Arab, but they all formed a united front under the banner of Ahl as-Sunnah wal-Jamâ'ah.

Protecting the holy places against Crusader aggression was regarded as the most important task of the Ayubids during their rule.[887] We could say that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen managed to form a land army and naval fleet that was equipped with everything that it needed for fighting in terms of weapons, equipment and supplies, thanks to

this wise policy that he followed in organizing his army, which spread the spirit of Islamic jihad in their hearts. He implemented a system of military fiefs in his state, through which it was possible to guarantee the availability of an organized army which was supplied with everything it needed. This army played a part in achieving Muslim unity and paving the way for the jihad venture which was aimed at eradicating the Crusader presence in Syria. There was no obstacle left to prevent Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen from focusing on jihad against the Crusaders and taking back Jerusalem[888] except unifying the internal front. This is what we will find out about in the next chapter, in shâ' Allâh.

CHAPTER VII
Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi's Efforts to Unite the Muslims

The death of Noor ad-Deen came as a shock that no one was expecting. Whilst Damascus was celebrating the circumcision of his son on Eid al-Fitr 569 AH, the Muslim world lost him unexpectedly two weeks later. As soon as news of his death became known, all manner of greed and ambition was let loose, not only among the close family of Noor ad-Deen but also among his emirs and military commanders, as well as the occupying Franks. Everyone was trying to get the most benefit for himself in the absence of the man who had, until his death, held the fate of the region and of the Franks in his hands with dignity, courage, piety and farsightedness. Noor ad-Deen left behind a far-flung state that stretched from Barqah and Yemen to Syria, Mesopotamia and Mosul. If we examine the sequence of events immediately after his death, we will see that conflicts between various forces had begun and that each group was taking action according to its level of power.[889]

The Zangid family in Mosul

Their representative and Noor ad-Deen's deputy among them was Sayf ad-Deen Ghazi — his brother's son. He had gathered his army to help him in fighting the Franks, and now he suddenly found himself heading towards Nusaybin and taking possession of it. He

sent detachments to Khaboor, which he captured and allocated as fiefs, then he marched to Harran and besieged it for several days, taking possession of it after its ruler Qâymâz al-Harrâni, Noor ad-Deen's Mameluke, surrendered. Then he besieged Edessa and took possession of it from the eunuch and servant of Noor ad-Deen. Then he sent troops to Raqqah, on the banks of the Euphrates to take possession of it, and to Surooj. Thus the cities of Mesopotamia, with the exception of the citadel of Ja'bar, came under Sayf ad-Deen's control, and he reintroduced the levies and was lenient with regard to matters of entertainment and drinking.[890]

The emirs in Damascus held on to the child al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ whom Noor ad-Deen had left behind and who was only eleven years old. They agreed to unite and appointed the emir Ibn al-Muqaddim as the leader of their group, as they gave him the role of the child's custodian (atabeg), to supervise his education.[891]

The emir Shams ad-Deen ibn ad-Dâyah was ruling Aleppo with his two brothers. He stayed in the middle between the Zangids in the east and the group in Damascus, even though he was a friend of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and was inclined towards him.[892]

The Franks immediately took advantage of the situation and attacked the fortress of Baniyas at the southern entrance to the Golan at the end of Shawwâl 569 AH/1174 CE. Noor ad-Deen's widow — with courage surpassing that of most women, according to William of Tyre — sent word asking for the siege to be lifted; the city paid a lot of money and was given a temporary truce, but King Amalric refused and continued to besiege Baniyas for two weeks, and used up his equipment there. Finally he accepted the money, along with the release of Frankish knights who were being held captive, then he went back and died. He was replaced by his son, the young leper Baldwin IV.[893] This is according to the Frankish account. The Arabic sources state that Ibn al-Muqaddim came out to them in his role as

atabeg and extended the offer of a truce in which he would pay a huge amount of money and release Frankish prisoners as well, and they agreed to these terms. It clearly seems that Noor ad-Deen's widow, who was the daughter of the atabeg Anar, was influential in Damascus as she held a leading position as the king's mother; hence the letter was in her name even though the atabeg Ibn al-Muqaddim was the commander of the army and the man in charge of the state's affairs. He concluded a truce with the Franks, which meant the cessation of all hostilities.[894]

As for Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in Egypt, the news reached him via the Franks, and he did not believe it. He wrote to Noor ad-Deen as follows:

> News has reached me from the accursed enemy about our master Noor ad-Deen; Allah forbid that I should hear bad news about him; may Allah keep him healthy and bring joy to his people. The news is deeply upsetting and distressing. If, Allah forbid, it is true, then kings arrange matters so that their sons end up in power. I urge you by Allah not to let that cause division among us, lest the enemy achieve their goals. Do not become divided and let that lead to your failure, because the enemy is surrounding us on all sides. We are supporters of this house (of Noor ad-Deen) and will never let them down. His last wishes to us are already decided and his son is in charge. Sa'd ad-Deen Gumushtigin is with him, so if this bequest is accepted, all well and good, otherwise we shall support this son against his enemies. But if news comes confirming that he is alive and well, this is what we want.[895]

A letter came to him from the emirs of Damascus, signed by al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ, which read:

> May Allah grant long life to his highness, al-Malik an-Nâṣir, and increase our reward and his concerning the loss of our

> father, the just master. The emirs who are present have gathered to affirm their allegiance and solemn oath to al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ, and there is no trouble preoccupying us here except the Franks, may Allah humiliate them. His highness al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ (may Allah have mercy on him) has never relied on anyone except him (meaning Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen) when such a calamity happens; he has put his hopes for his present and future in him and has relied on him for himself and his son.[896] Is there any helper (nâṣir) other than an-Nâṣir (Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen)?[897]

The emirs of Damascus wanted to reassure Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen so that he would stay far away, and regard his task as fighting the Franks only, because Noor ad-Deen had delegated him to do that. They were aware of his strength and feared his interference. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen mourned for three days, and wrote to al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ offering condolences. At the end of his letter he stated:

> As for the enemy — may Allah humiliate him — this servant (meaning himself) is after him, seeking him night and day, until he can uproot him from his foothold. That is the least of my duties towards (your) noble house. My service to you started on Friday 4th Dhul-Qa'dah, which is the day on which sermons began to be given in the noble name (of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ)... This servant is today as he was yesterday to the one before you (loyal to the Zangid house); he will fulfil his duties towards you and strive to unite the Muslims. May Allah grant his highness al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ long life and bring prosperity to the Muslims by means of him. May Allah help this servant in what he intends to do, which is to support his authority and increase the extent of his kingdom.[898]

In another letter after that he wrote:

> This servant is continuing what he started: complying with the commands of the new king, supporting him, leading his troops and showing loyalty and sincerity. He is awaiting instructions so that he might comply and to be given a task so that he might do it and to be sent against the enemy so that he might go. He hopes that there will come a day when Allah will expose what is in his heart towards his highness (so that he might prove his loyalty and sincerity).[899]

Coins were minted in the name of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ, some of which were sent to the new ruler, and sermons were delivered in his name at the pulpit.[900]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen continued to watch events in Syria and Iraq. When he heard news of them whilst he was in Egypt, he sent letters, sometimes protesting and sometimes advising or making suggestions.

He heard that Sayf ad-Deen Ghazi had seized possessions of his late uncle, so he sent word to al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ rebuking him for not informing him about that so that he could have come and helped him and prevented Sayf ad-Deen from achieving his goal.[901]

He heard about the Frankish attack on Baniyas and the truce that Ibn al-Muqaddim had contracted with them for a large amount of money. He objected to this deal and wrote to a number of prominent people as well as to Ibn al-Muqaddim and al-Qâḍi ibn Abi 'Aṣroon in Damascus, saying:

> When I heard about the death of (Noor ad-Deen) I left Egypt with the aim of engaging in jihad and cleansing the land of the disbelievers, then I heard about the truce which is humiliating to Islam. ...Our master the shaykh is certainly expected to denounce that deal, for by means of his words swords are put back in their sheaths and rights are restored.[902]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen recognized the weakness of the emirs of Damascus from this incident.

He heard about the dispute between the emirs of Damascus and Ibn ad-Dâyah in Aleppo, then how the commander Shâd Bakht — the commander of the Citadel of Aleppo — had been able to conspire with Ibn al-Muqaddim to bring al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ to Aleppo and put together a plan in which they arrested Ibn ad-Dâyah and his two brothers by treacherous means, after promising him the position of atabeg of the state, and they put them in prison after beating and kicking them.

Fnally Ibn al-Muqaddim, who was the ruler of Damascus, got angry and wrote to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, asking him to come and intervene. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen stayed in Egypt for three and a half months, until the beginning of Safar 571 AH, never tiring of writing letters. He was preoccupied with other two matters: the internal conspiracy of Kanz ad-Dawlah and the Norman-Sicilian attacks on Alexandria, both of which posed a great danger. When they ended, he realized that the arrest of Ibn ad-Dâyah was another indication that the emirs in Damascus were following their own whims, desires and interests, and competing with one another, and they were not paying attention to the wishes of Noor ad-Deen himself. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen believed that the son of Noor ad-Deen should, after his father's death, be under the guardianship of Majd ad-Deen ibn ad-Dâyah and his brothers in Aleppo, who were his friends and allies.[903] He trusted them, but their beatings and arrests by treacherous means made him think: *I am more deserving of fulfilling covenants and good efforts; if these people remain in authority it will cause division; Egypt will be split from Syria and the disbelievers' hopes of attacking Muslim lands will be raised.*

He wrote to Ibn al-Muqaddim in Damascus, denouncing what they had done questioning how they had dared to transgress against

the members and pillars of the state. Ibn al-Muqaddim wrote back to him trying to dissuade him from these thoughts and suggesting that it was unacceptable to think such things:

> Let it not be said of you that you harboured ambitions against the house that planted you, raised you and established you, and helped you to become king of Egypt. It does not befit you, because of your good character, because of the close friends you have and because of your kindness.[904]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was torn between fulfilling his duty of loyalty towards the house of Noor ad-Deen and avoiding the accusation that he harboured ambitions toward it. It seems that the large number of letters he received from prominent figures and scholars in Syria and Damascus put an end to his confusion, and he decided to intervene. If he had not done that at the time when the people were pinning their hopes on him after the death of Noor ad-Deen, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen might not be remembered today, and his name would probably be just one among the many emirs of his era.[905]

From the end of Noor ad-Deen's rule, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was not just one of Noor ad-Deen's most prominent emirs, but there was a military institution that belonged to him, and he had a family of cooperative military leaders, among whom were Shirkuh and Najm ad-Deen Ayub first of all, then Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and his maternal uncle Shihâb ad-Deen al-Hârimi, then his brothers, prominent among whom were Turanshah, Tughtigin, Abu Bakr (al-'Âdil) and Boori, and some of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's nephews and his cousin, in addition to some of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's sons: al-Afḍal 'Ali, adh-Dhâhir Ghazi and al-'Azeez 'Uthmân. So there were three generations of leaders and commanders who put themselves at the service of Noor ad-Deen and carried his banner. Noor ad-Deen put them together so that they could cooperate through the family ties they shared. Noor ad-Deen was certain of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and of cooperation of the rest of his

relatives with him, and he was certain that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would have full control over them as a group in Egypt, and he was also confident that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was wise in his approach and management.[906]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's strength lay not only in this, but also in the rich resources of Egypt, both economic and human. The land that had become his fief was larger in area and greater in wealth than the original kingdom of Noor ad-Deen himself in Greater Syria and Mesopotamia. His own emirate stretched from Barqah to Nubia to Yemen. Similarly, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's situation was not like that of Noor ad-Deen's other commanders; he surpassed them in strength, wealth and status. None of the three sons of ad-Dâyah became prominent except one, and he did not have the same opportunities as Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had, for whom Egypt was like an environment or laboratory in which the potential of the Ayubid family came to the fore. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen realized this fully, as did the other emirs.[907]

When the emirs of Damascus decided to unite and cooperate in opposing Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, Shaykh Ismâ'eel the state treasurer, al-Ḥusayn al-Jarrâhi, Shihâb ad-Deen al-'Ajami, at-Tawâshi Ḥusâm ad-Deen Rayhân and, foremost among them, Ibn al-Muqaddim, met in the presence of al-Qâḍi Kamâl ad-Deen ash-Shahrazoori, who said, "You know that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen the ruler of Egypt is the Mameluke and deputy of Noor ad-Deen, and it is better to consult him with regard to what we are doing and not to exclude him, lest he rebel against us and take it as evidence against us, because he is the only ruler of Egypt. ...He could expel us and brush us aside and take care of serving al-Malik al-Ṣâliḥ."

These words did not meet with their approval, however, and they were afraid that if Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen came to Damascus, they might have to leave.[908] They thought that if he entered the land he would expel them from it.[909]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen completed his mission in Egypt even though what was going on upset and angered him, especially what was happening in Aleppo, where Sunni-Shiite division had taken place, and his friend Ibn Ad-Dâyah had been betrayed. He had written to Ibn al-Muqaddim in Damascus and to the emirs, saying:

> If Noor ad-Deen had known that there was among you someone who could take my place and whom he could trust like me, he would have given him Egypt, which is the greatest of his possessions and provinces. If he had not died so soon, he would not have asked anyone to take care of raising his son and serving him except me. I can see that you have taken care of my master and the son of my master without me. I shall come and serve him, to pay back the favours of his father in a great manner, and I shall punish each one of you for his poor conduct in not defending his land.[910]

Thus he regarded himself as responsible for the state of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ and for protecting him and it properly.[911] He wrote to the emirs in Aleppo warning them that he was coming to Syria, and they wrote back to him in an ill-mannered fashion.[912] It seems that they thought that he was going to leave Egypt, so they wrote to the ruler of Mosul, asking him to come to Damascus and take possession of it before Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen could do so, but the emir of Mosul thought that this was a plot on their part, so he did not respond to their request. Meanwhile, the people of Damascus urged Ibn al-Muqaddim — who had come back to them — to ask Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen to come and take control of Damascus lest Gumushtigin, who had taken over Aleppo, come and take over Damascus too. Many letters reached him asking him to come to Syria, so Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen decided to do just that.[913]

Annexation of Damascus

After the internal situation in Egypt settled down and he had gained full control of it, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen prepared to march to Syria, five months after the death of Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood. He left Cairo in Safar 570 AH/September 1174 CE at the head of seven hundred soldiers, accompanied by Sayf ad-Deen Tughtigin, Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar and 'Izz ad-Deen Farookh Shah. He appointed his brother al-'Âdil to run the affairs of Egypt during his absence, and also took some precautions to protect it, allocating troops to guard its borders and entry points.[914] He travelled slowly, taking three months between the beginning of Safar and the end of Rabee' II 571 AH, stopping en route in Bilbeis and inspecting the fortress of Eilat or 'Aqabah.

Was he thinking of the rumours that the Zangid emirs would spread, accusing him of disobedience and of harbouring personal ambitions? Or did he take his time because he was drawing up a plan to win over the emirs of Noor ad-Deen without war or conflict? Or was he trying to gauge the extent of his popularity among the people with this small army, coming to Syria like one who was unarmed, whilst his armed forces remained in Egypt? Or was he challenging those who wanted to dismiss him from Egypt and to keep for themselves the inheritance of Noor ad-Deen and his son? Or was he calmly paving the way to enter the country peacefully, on the basis of his popularity?[915] Many ideas may have crossed his mind, perhaps the strongest of which was that his enemies would entertain all sorts of bad thoughts about him and accuse him of harbouring personal ambitions. A letter was written for him by al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil in which he stated:

> Loyalty only manifests itself after the death of the one whom you love, and love manifests itself when enemies become numerous. However, I am in one valley and those who think

> badly of me are in another. Our aim is to do what is right and nothing can divert us from this. The one who is seeking to do the right thing cannot be accused of being a wrongdoer, and the one who has laid down arms cannot be accused of wounding others. All we want is to do what is best and not to cause turmoil. If our aim was any different, we would not have read your letters and written our replies. No one should interpret our actions except in the best manner or think of us except in good terms, for the basis of all our actions is good.[916]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sent a letter to the Abbasid caliph al-Mustadi' explaining the reason he was marching to Syria. The aim of this letter was to lend some legitimacy to the action he was undertaking, and to make the Abbasid caliphate aware of his loyalty.[917]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's address to the Abbasid caliph

The sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sent his spokesman Shams ad-Deen ibn al-Wazeer Abul-Mada' to the Abbasid caliph's court with a message which included a letter beautifully written by al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil, with a lengthy list of the sultan's achievements: in the field of jihad against the Franks during Noor ad-Deen's lifetime; the conquest of Egypt, Yemen, and many lands on the border of the Maghreb, where he had ensured that Friday sermons were delivered in the name of the Abbasids. His instructions to the bearer of this message were:

> After greeting the caliph with salâm and supplicating fervently for him, let him mention events which are real and not fabricated; no matter how much is said, they are much more than that. Let him mention them in brief, so that this may make him (the caliph) happy and highlight to him some points of which he is unaware, for Allah is not worshipped in secret.

In his missive, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen addressed the Abbasid caliph as follows:

> ...For we used to carry fire in our hands so that others might have light, and we used to carry water in our hands so that others might drink. We would receive arrows in our chests whilst others worried about how they looked, and we were struck by swords in our chests whilst others claimed prominent positions. So we have no alternative but to claim back our property on the basis of justice by means of which usurped property is returned. People should obey us and have love for us in their hearts. What prevented us from making this claim is that we were waiting for the initiative from your highness in bestowing blessing that matches our initiative for service, and we were waiting for support for our rights that matched our pioneering efforts (in jihad).
>
> We started in Syria, conquering land and directly involving ourselves in jihad and fighting the disbelievers, leading at the forefront of our troops, ourselves, our father and our paternal uncle. There was no city that was conquered, no fortress that was captured, no army that was defeated and no troops that went out for the sake of Islam but we were part of it. No one was unaware of our deeds and our enemy did not deny that. We gave them hell and we had the upper hand in the situation; we led our troops, organizing them in the battlefield and calling for mobilization, until the legacy for which we will be rewarded became apparent in Syria, and it does not matter to us if others take the credit for that. We were kept updated about what was happening in Egypt and how things were deteriorating there, where junior officials and troops were rebelling against senior figures. The system was corrupt and Islam had grown weak and there was no one there to support it.

The one in charge in Egypt was forced to make a deal with the Franks, giving them a large amount of money, a seriously high amount. The Sunnis were suppressed; Sharia law existed in name only and was not implemented; innovations were widespread and well known; there was much of the misguidance which leads to separation from Islam, according to those who issue religious rulings; that madh-hab whose followers were deeply infatuated with it was widespread; those idols which were set up instead of Allah were worshipped and venerated. Exalted be Allah far above being likened to His slaves, and woe to the one who is deceived by the strutting about of the disbelievers in the land.

Therefore we aspired, unlike all others, to conquer the land and bring back to Islam those who went astray, and restore to Islam what it had lost. So we marched there with a huge army and vast multitude, by means of wealth that was completely exhausted, spending from what we owned and what we earned, and from the ransoms paid for Frankish prisoners who fell into our hands. But there were obstacles placed in our way and the Egyptians sent envoys to seek the help of the Franks, and that put an end to all hopes. Nonetheless, Allah decreed that we should take possession over Egypt in the best manner and gain full and perfect control over it: the Franks betrayed the Egyptians when there was a truce between them, which caused a great deal of damage and it became known that their aim was to eradicate Islam from that land. So the Muslims wrote to us from Egypt at that time, as the Muslims are writing to us from Syria now, saying that unless we try to deal with the problem, things will get out of hand, and unless we fight the enemy today, if we leave it till tomorrow, we will not succeed. So we marched with our troops and emirs to a land where two things paved the way for us and two things established love for

us in their hearts: the first is what they know of our preference and support for the correct madh-hab and for the revival of the original truth; the second is their hope of ransoming their prisoners and freeing themselves from the tithes. Thus Allah did what He decreed and the troops attacked the enemy, so they retreated and were cornered, and the land found relief after its farms and agricultural regions had been under full control of the enemy, with their crossed flags flying over it and their idols erected in it, and there had been despair that any of what they had captured could be regained or that what they had gained possession of could be rescued.

We reached that land (Egypt under the Fatimids) where there were great numbers and multitudes of troops, with huge financial resources; they were united and more focused on fighting Islam than on fighting the Crusaders. There were Sudanese men, more than a hundred thousand, all of them speaking with a foreign accent. ﴾They are only like cattle...﴿ *(Qur'an 25: 44)* They knew no lord except the one who dwelt in the palace and no qibla except wherever he was. There were Armenian troops too who were still Christian, but the jizyah was not collected from them; they had influence and power, and were tribal and stuck together. They (the Fatimids) had their retinue in their palaces, preachers with subtle and crafty ways of misguiding people and leading them to doom, and scribes who wrote evil. There was great fear which prevented ideas from even crossing people's minds, let alone allowing them to plan and make arrangements. Moreover they clearly regarded what is ḥarâm as ḥalâl and no longer established obligatory duties; they distorted the Sharia by misinterpreting texts and twisting the divinely intended meanings. It was disbelief by another name; the banner of the Sharia was raised, but they ruled according to something else.

We continued to plan and strive to bring about change, and what we achieved is something that is beyond imagination and no human could have achieved it without divine help. They sought the help of the Franks against us during that period; these sent an army to Bilbeis and another to Damietta; in each case the enemy arrived with all its power[918] and in huge numbers, especially in the campaign of Damietta, because they besieged it by sea with a thousand ships, warships and carriers, and by land with two thousand horsemen and foot soldiers. They besieged it for two months, trying to breach it morning and evening, motivated by devotion to the cross. We were fighting two enemies, one hidden and one visible, and two persistent opponents, the hypocrite and the disbeliever, until Allah brought His decree to pass and granted us victory, whereupon both the Egyptians and the Franks lost hope.

We started to deal with these groups, the Armenians, the Sudanese and the troops. We expelled them from Cairo by issuing decrees concerning them because of their treacherous activities, and by means of the sword and burning fire, until nothing was left except the palace and the servants and children therein. Its supporters were scattered, its innovations were torn apart, its madh-hab faded away and its misguidance disappeared. At that point we were able to establish the word of truth, openly deliver Friday sermons in the name of the caliph and raise the great black (Abbasid) banner. Allah soon brought death to that tyrant, thus relieving us of commitment to our oath, then another oath, the sin of breaking which would be easier than the sin of keeping him alive, as his death was hastened because of his great distress, and his death meant the death of his (Fatimid) state.

When we were finished with that and had established full authority in the land, we began to focus on campaigning in the

> land of the disbelievers (the Crusaders). There was no year when we did not go out on campaign on land or sea, on ships or on mounts, until we killed or captured very many of them, and enslaved them by force and power.[919] We conquered for them (the Muslims) that which the people of Islam thought, after it had been taken away from them, that they would never regain, and never sent their cavalry or army to recapture it. Some of those fortresses were destroyed, and some were taken over intact. Among them was a citadel on the border of Eilat which the enemy had built on the Red Sea, which is the route to the Two Holy Sanctuaries and Yemen. The enemy attacked the coast of the Forbidden Sanctuary and captured some people there, and disbelief penetrated deeply into that part of the Muslim land; Makkah itself was nearly captured, the holy places of Allah were about to be inhabited by people other than their people, The Station of Abraham was almost occupied by those whose fire is not cool and safe, and the grave of the Prophet (ﷺ) was nearly disturbed by those who do not follow the religion of Islam that he brought. But Allah granted the conquest of this fortress and it became a foothold of jihad and a resting place for travellers and other servants of Allah...

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen continued:

> In Yemen there were the infamous actions of the misguided heretic and rebellious innovator 'Ibn Mahdi', who did a great deal of damage to Islam, and the Prophet himself would even seek revenge on him because he took righteous women captive and sold them for a cheap price, violating their honour in a way which would cause anguish to any Muslim. He introduced innovation, calling people to his father's grave, which he called a ka'bah; he took people's wealth unlawfully and consumed it; and he permitted adultery.

So we sent our brother with our troops to him, after preparing all that he needed in cash and good weaponry. He went there and we prevailed, to Allah is due all praise. Our authority there, by Allah's will, now extends as far as India. And our legacy in the Maghreb is even more amazing. That is because we came to know that Banu 'Abd al-Mu'min (in Morocco) had established their authority there and their army was so powerful that no one could withstand them. Praise be to Allah, we gained control of lands nearby, more than a month's travel in breadth. We sent army after army there, and they came back with victory after victory. Among the well-known cities and lands over which we gained control are: Barqah, Gafsa, Qasteeliyah and Tozeur; in all of these places the khutbah is now given in the name of his highness al-Mustadi' bi Amr-Illâh — Ameer al-Mu'mineen, may the peace of Allah be upon him — and before that the khutbah had never been given in the name of the caliph; and authority is established there under the banner of the Abbasids and their symbols. This year we received a delegation of seventy riders, each of them asking for official approval for the ruler of his city and hoping for a good promise from us and fearing us. We have given them symbols of authority, praise be to Allah.

There are enemies lying in wait and watching for an opportunity in this land, and the disbelievers who are fighting us, who have a lot of power and control large territories, including the King of Constantinople, who is the greatest tyrant, the ruler of that kingdom which is in slow decline, the defender of Christianity. We (have not ignored them, but) have carried out raids against him by sea and conducted correspondence[920] with him openly and secretly. We did not leave Egypt until we had received envoys twice in one week, with two letters, in each of which he showed an inclination

towards humility and a willingness to lay down arms and to move from a state of hostility to a mutual exchange of gifts, from a state of aggression to a state of friendship.

Another of these disbelievers is the ruler of Sicily; when he learned that the Crusader ruler of Syria and the ruler of Constantinople had met during the Damietta campaign and had been defeated and humiliated, he wanted to make an independent show of power, so he prepared a fleet, exhausting all his wealth and time, and for the last five years he has been building up his army and preparing his weapons until, in this past year, he sent a campaign to Alexandria that was so huge that it was a burden on the sea itself, and the land was filled with his cavalry and troops, an army such as no king before had ever assembled, but Allah caused him to be humiliated. Among these armies were those of Venice, Pisa and Genoa, each of which sometimes sent campaigns against us whose viciousness and evil were immense, and sometimes they sent travellers who respected the rules of Islam with regard to their merchandise. There is none of them now who does not bring weapons to our country for fighting and draws close to us by means of gifts of their finest crafts. With all of them we have established good relations and we have a peace deal with them on the basis of what we want and what they dislike, what we prefer and what they do not prefer.

When Allah decreed the death of Noor ad-Deen, in that year we were intending to launch our campaign; the army was ready and the camps were set up. The Franks were camping in Baniyas and were about to conquer it. Its ruler sought our help, so we marched towards it and the enemy heard of our march and quickly made a truce with Damascus; were it not for our march, this truce could not have been made. Then we returned

to Egypt and news came to us of what was happening in Noor ad-Deen's kingdom: differences of opinion and disputes; it was in turmoil, every citadel had its own ruler and everyone was trying to gain power; the Franks had built fortresses on the borders of Muslim lands and were putting pressure on the Syrian cities. The senior emirs of Noor ad-Deen were put in prison and punished, and their wealth confiscated, and unknown Mamelukes who had been created to sit at the edges of gatherings and not at the head, and were created to stand and not sit in gatherings, have extended their hands, eyes and swords, and behaved badly by enjoining what is evil and forbidding what is good.[921] Each one of them is trying to do favours to the Franks so that they can win their support.

We realized that if we do not try to recapture Jerusalem and if we do not try to uproot disbelief, it will become deeply rooted and it will be difficult for the Muslims to deal with it; the proof of Allah will be established against those who fall short, and those who are able to do something will be sinning by not doing anything. We are unable to tackle the enemy whilst we are in Egypt because of the great distances involved and because of our remoteness, and because the riding animals prepared for jihad would be exhausted by the time they got there, but if we move closer to the enemy, that will achieve an obvious interest and bring benefits. Distances will be closer and campaigning will be possible, food supplies will be available and the horses will be rested, troops will be plentiful and there will be a lot of suitable time. We will be able to uproot corrupt beliefs in Greater Syria, put things straight and put an end to corruption and the greed that is controlling some people and affecting their minds, and we will be able to take care of this child whose father has died, because we are more entitled to look after him than people who are seeking worldly

gains in his name and making a show of loyal service when in fact they are oppressing him.

The aim now is whatever will strengthen the state, support the call, bring the Ummah together, preserve harmony, guarantee mercy, regain the rest of the land and spread the name and authority of the Abbasids everywhere, as is the case in Egypt, Yemen, the Maghreb, Syria and in all the lands that were ruled by Noor ad-Deen, and in all the lands that Allah may grant in conquest to the Abbasid state by our swords and those of our troops. Anyone whom we appoint as our successors, brother or son, will also guarantee the same to the Abbasids, that this blessing may continue and their authority may be reinforced. In general, Greater Syria cannot become stable at a time when Jerusalem has no one to save it and take care of it, and the Franks know us as opponents who never get tired of fighting until they themselves get tired and as opponents who still hold their swords upright until they (the Franks) leave. If the opinion of others supports us and our advice, we will wield swords that will be effective even when sheathed, and we will reach our goal by Allah's will. We will free our captive — the mosque to which Allah took His slave on the miraculous Night Journey.[922]

In another letter transcribed by al-Fâḍil, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen states:

...Another reason your servant left his house was a promise that he made to Noor ad-Deen (may Allah have mercy on him) to attack the invaders from two sides, from Egypt and Syria, your servant with his troops on land and sea, and Noor ad-Deen from the plains and rugged terrain of Syria. Then the decree of Allah came to one of the two, and many developments took place: the Muslims became weak in many locations; many border posts were lost to the enemy; people

> with corrupt ideas came to power; good aims were no longer paid any heed; Bâṭini people became close to the ruler to the exclusion of true believers; Muslims started paying jizyah to the disbelievers; and the emirs who were supporters of Islam and whose swords had been the cause of its victory began to complain that they were being suppressed and that the disbelievers were building fortresses on the borders of Muslim lands, then we decided upon this course of action. No doubt, after we decided on this plan the Franks were very upset; they began to panic, and sought the help of Christians throughout the land. They paraded their crosses and altar cloths, they threatened their greatest king that Judgement Day was at hand, and sent the patriarchs and bishops with letters containing images of what they call saints, and said, 'If negligence occurs, it will be difficult to correct mistakes.' The rulers of Constantinople and Sicily, the kings of Germany and other lands beyond the sea, and the rulers of the islands, such as Venice, Pisa, Genoa and others, are all preparing big ships and large fleets. But Islam, O Ameer al-Mu'mineen, will prevail, especially since they are supporting falsehood, whereas Islam is the truth and calls for worship of the Creator whilst they worship His creation.[923]

The caliph responded to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's requests and bestowed on him the rule of Egypt and Syria, and sent to him the caliph's envoys when he was besieging Hamah in 570 AH/1174 CE, bearing the symbols of power and authority.[924] This is an indication of the Abbasid caliphate's willingness to deal sincerely with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, in whom they saw the character who could fill the vacuum left by Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood; they acknowledged his authority and recognized that he was the one who was qualified to defend the Muslims. This recognition by the caliph gave him status before the Muslim emirs in general and before the Crusaders in particular. Ṣalâḥ

ad-Deen, despite the power he had, needed the support of the caliph in his conflict with the Muslim emirs who were opposed to him, especially the Zangid emirs; hence he informed the caliph immediately of his movements and achievements, in order to win his support.[925]

His entry into Damascus

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and his army reached Damascus and were welcomed warmly. Ibn al-Muqaddim opened the gates of the city to him on the following day and handed the city over to him. However, the citadel was in the hands of a servant whose name was Jamâl ad-Deen Rayhân, who refused to submit to him, until Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen won him over and convinced him to hand it over to him. Thus Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen annexed Damascus and its citadel on the basis of protecting aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ismâ'eel from the danger of the Crusaders and the ambitious emirs, and he regained control over the possessions that had been captured by Sayf ad-Deen Ghazi, the emir of Mosul and Mesopotamia.[926] In Damascus, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen tried to win the people's support, so he ordered that money be spent on the people, abolished taxes and levies and sought to soften people's hearts towards him. He honoured the scholars because of the great influence that they had on the common folk, to this end he visited the house of al-Qâḍi Kamâl ad-Deen ash-Shahrazoori and dispelled any misunderstanding that there might have been between them.[927] Al-Qâḍi ash-Shahrazoori responded to him by saying, "Be at ease, for the command is yours and the city is yours."[928]

The qâḍi's words were an announcement to the people of Damascus that they should submit completely to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and obey him. So they announced their joy[929] and submitted their affairs to him, and he in turn showed kindness and respect to them and was

pleased with them.[930] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen addressed the people of Damascus, saying,

> Allah has given us control of Damascus by peaceful means, not by means of violence, and by His grace it was not decreed to be a way to commit sin (during conquest), and no transgression occurred so that some might say it may be forgiven. ...So they knew that chaff is blown by the wind, darkness is erased by morning and the sword is most truthful in deciding matters; truth is more solidly rooted, falsehood will inevitably diminish and the foam of the sea will vanish. Indeed we believe that forgiveness is closer to piety and is the most appropriate way. So we protected blood from being shed and we put minds at rest, we left authority in place and kept swords away from other swords by leaving them in their sheaths. We left the wind blowing (we did not interfere) and it will continue blowing. We said to the fire of resentment, O fire, be cool. We looked at the situation of the house of Noor ad-Deen, may Allah honour it, and we found that its lights were extinguished and its memory was nearly erased.[931]

After the annexation of Damascus, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen began to implement his policy of rebuilding the unified Islamic front so that it would extend from Northern Iraq to Greater Syria and Egypt, so that after that he could start the Islamic jihad movement against the Crusaders when the Muslims were at their most united: strong and cohesive.[932] When he captured Damascus and its citadel and settled there, he established justice and spread kindness, and erased all trace of injustice and oppression. He abolished all the abhorrent and evil actions, burdens, taxes and un-Islamic practices that the governors had introduced after the death of Noor ad-Deen.[933] Then he marched northwards to take on Gumushtigin in Aleppo, after appointing his brother Tughtigin as governor of Damascus. He annexed Homs and

headed towards Aleppo, after failing to capture the citadel of Homs.[934]

Attack on Aleppo

Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ismâ'eel had become ruler after the death of his father, but because he was a minor, he did not know how to run the affairs of state. Hence he was head of state in name only, and his helpers had been able to tamper with state affairs, and moved the seat of power from Damascus to Aleppo.[935] From Aleppo Gumushtigin, the guardian of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ and the one who had a monopoly on power in the city, had begun to implement a special policy aimed at strengthening his influence. He captured Ibn ad-Dâyah and began planning to keep Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen away from Aleppo by all means. When Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen came to Aleppo, Gumushtigin sent him a letter in which he accused him of wanting to dominate the possessions of his master Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood and his son al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ.[936]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was aware of the intentions and aims of Gumushtigin, and he corresponded with al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ, explaining the situation to him and offering his advice, so as to prevent any deterioration in the relationship between them.[937] It seems that al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ did not approve of the actions of his emirs, but he was weak and thus unable to keep them away from him. He was also easily swayed by them because he was so young. There is nothing more indicative of the weakness of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ and Gumushtigin's meddling in his affairs than the fact that although the former objected to the arrest of 'Izz ad-Deen Joordeek, the emir of Hamah and envoy of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen who was sent to make a peace deal between the two sides, Gumushtigin did not pay any attention to these objections. He arrested Joordeek, put him in chains, tortured him and put him in the dry well in which he had put the sons of Ibn

ad-Dâyah.[938] Hence it was natural that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would head towards Aleppo to save his envoy and al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ from the clutches of Gumushtigin and to annex Aleppo, because of its importance in his plans to unite the Muslim forces. Gumushtigin closed the gates of Aleppo in Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's face when he began to besiege it on 3 Jumâda II 570/30 January 1174 CE.[939] Its people, with the exception of the Shiite leaders, were inclined to submit to him, so al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ urged the Shiites to protect him against a man who wanted to take away his inheritance, so the Shiites stipulated their conditions for supporting him:

— He was to allocate the eastern side of the Jâmi' mosque to them;

— The adhân was once again to include the words "*ḥayya 'alâ khayr il-'amal* (come to the best of deeds)" and that was to be announced in the market places;

— The names of the twelve imams were to be mentioned at funerals;

— Takbeer was to be recited five times over the bier;

— Matters of marriage among them were to be dealt with by Abu Ṭâhir al-Ḥusayni.

Aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ismâ'eel agreed to their demands under the influence of Gumushtigin.[940] This happened at the time when Gumushtigin had resorted to seeking the help of the Assassins and Crusaders to keep Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen away from the walls of Aleppo. Sinân, the leader of the Ismaili Bâṭini Shiites, responded by sending a group of commandos in Jumâda II 570 AH/January 1175 CE, disguised in the uniforms of regular soldiers, to kill Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. Some of them managed to sneak into his tent and almost managed to carry out their plan, but they were discovered and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was saved from their assassination attempt.[941] After the Ismaili Shiites failed to

assassinate Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, Gumushtigin sent word to Raymond III, Count of Tripoli and regent of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, asking him to put a limit to the increasing power of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, because the Crusaders had been unable to prevent the union of Damascus and Cairo, but Aleppo at least was still not part of this union. Thus the Crusaders realized that the independence of Aleppo and its remaining in the hands of the Zangid dynasty was the only guarantee of preventing Muslim unity stretching from the Nile to the Euphrates. Their interests coincided with those of the Zangids in this regard.[942] Raymond III tried to use political means; he sent word to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen encouraging him to make a deal, hinting that the Franks had got closer together and become united. But Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did not fear this threat and he responded to Raymond III by raiding the outskirts of Antioch.[943] At that point the Crusader ruler had no means of keeping Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen away from Aleppo except by attacking Homs; he appeared there and attacked the walls, supported by the garrison in the citadel which was still loyal to the Zangids. In fact, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was forced to lift the siege of Aleppo and leave its walls in order to save Homs, but Raymond III did not stay to meet him; rather he went back to the fortress of Akrâd after being certain that he had achieved his aim.[944]

When Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was reassured that Homs was safe, he left it and headed towards Baalbek and annexed it on 4 Ramadân 570 AH/30 March 1175 CE.[945] The emirs of Aleppo knew that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was stronger than them in terms of physical resources and morale, but they made a mistake in their plans to deal with him and relied on provoking three forces against him: Mosul, the Franks and the Ismailis. Hence they sent an envoy, whose name was Quṭub ad-Deen Yanâl ibn Ḥassân al-Munji, with a threatening letter. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen welcomed the messenger warmly and hosted him for three days, but the envoy delivered the message at the end of that time, which stated:

> The swords which enabled you to control Egypt are still in our hands, the spears by means of which you gained power over the Fatimid palaces are still on our shoulders, and the men who warded off from you all these troops are going to ward you off; what you want to conquer they will keep you away from. You have gone too far and overstepped the mark. You are one of Noor ad-Deen's men; you are supposed to take care of his son for him.[946]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did not respond to any of that; he ignored it and overlooked the harsh tone of these words, and spoke gently to the envoy, saying, "You should realize that I have come to Syria to unite the Muslims, protect the masses, and defend the borders, to take care of the son of Noor ad-Deen and to ward off the aggressors."

Ibn Ḥassân replied, "You have only come to take power for yourself and we will not go along with you in that. There is a huge barrier between you and what you want, and the orphaning of children (much fighting and killing)."

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen smiled and gestured to his men to take him away. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen controlled his desire when he felt the urge to attack him and said, "By Allah, I have only come to save al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ from the hands of men like you; you are the cause of his kingdom's decline."[947]

Gumushtigin refused to submit to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and did his utmost to confront him. Gumushtigin used clever tactics against Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.

He played up the sectarian differences and negotiated with the Shiite groups in the city, trying to appease them. They stipulated a number of conditions, as mentioned above, which Noor ad-Deen had previously banned. Gumushtigin granted them all of that so that they would defend him.[948]

He toyed with the emotions of the masses. He gathered the people, including the Shiites, of course, and brought out to them the child al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ, who addressed them with the words that Gumushtigin told him to say, "O people of Aleppo, I am your son and your guest, the one who has sought your help. Your elders are like fathers to me and your youth are like brothers and your children like sons..." Then he began to sob and could not continue.

The people were moved and shouted as one; they threw down their turbans and wept and wailed noisily, saying, "We are your slaves and the slaves of your father, we will fight for you and sacrifice our wealth and our lives for you." Then they began to offer supplications for him and prayed for mercy for his father.[949]

Nevertheless, the alliance between Aleppo, Mosul, the Ismailis and the Franks could not withstand Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's unity venture. Barely had the month of April begun before Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen extended his authority to include all of Greater Syria as far north as Hamah. After that, he started working to give legitimacy to his position before the Muslims. We have discussed the letter that he sent to the Abbasid caliph al-Mustadi' bi Amr-Illâh and his lengthy letter that was written by al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil, in which he listed his conquests and his jihad against the Crusaders in the service of the Abbasid caliphate, especially the fact that he had restored the Friday sermons to being given in the name of the Abbasids in Egypt and secured the route to the Hijâz and Yemen. In that letter he indicated that he had come to Syria to set its affairs straight, to protect its borders and serve the son of Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood. At the end of the letter he asked to be officially recognized as ruler of Egypt, Yemen, the Maghreb and Greater Syria, all of which had been part of the state of Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood, and any other land that he conquered by the sword.[950]

The Battle of Quroon Hamah

Sayf ad-Deen Ghazi II, ruler of Mosul, was watching Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's expansion in Syria; he was upset by the latter's taking control of Damascus, Homs, Hamah and Baalbek and was angered by his besieging Aleppo in an attempt to annex it. Then the picture became clear to him: if Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen continued in his progress and managed to annex Aleppo, then that would pose a real threat to Mosul which would become an easy target after that. Hence Sayf ad-Deen Ghâzi II realized the importance of joining Aleppo in a defensive alliance against Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.[951] It so happened at that point that aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ismâ'eel was put under pressure by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, so he sought the help of his cousin, the ruler of Mosul, and asked him to supply troops; his delegation managed to convince him of the necessity of offering him help to stand up to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen because, if the latter gained control of Aleppo, he would have no other target left but Mosul.[952]

Sayf ad-Deen Ghâzi II did not need anyone to encourage him to confront Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen; he had already realized that if he let his guard down, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would gain control of the land and reinforce his position, and he himself would come under threat. So he hastened to gather troops from Mosul and Mesopotamia, and made preparations to cross the Euphrates to Aleppo. He sent word to his brother, 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi II, ruler of Sinjâr, asking him to come with his troops, but the latter refused to respond to his request after Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen managed to win him over and convince him that he was more entitled than his brother to rule because he was the oldest of the Zangid family. So the ruler of Mosul was forced to subjugate his brother and at the same time send a military detachment to Aleppo under the leadership of his brother 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood.[953]

'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood crossed the Euphrates, heading towards Aleppo. When he reached it, he was joined by the troops there, and he travelled to Hamah and besieged it. After some discussion, both sides, the Ayubids and Zangids, thought that the public interest dictated coming to some sort of agreement and preventing the shedding of Muslim blood, so they entered into negotiations at the end of which it was decided that:

- The hostile movement of Mosul against Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would be overlooked.
- Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would give up to al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ the cities and citadels in Syria that he had taken from him, especially Homs and Hamah, and would be limited to Damascus, provided that he act as his deputy in Damascus and acknowledge that he belonged to him, and Friday sermons and currency would be in the name of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ.
- Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would return everything that he had taken from the treasury.[954]

This agreement gave the Zangids the opportunity to restore their influence in Syria and maintain the dignity of the Zangid dynasty. Moreover, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's acceptance of the principle of reaching an agreement was aimed at protecting the land from fragmentation and division far away from personal ambitions. But the Zangids, who felt proud of their power, hoped to gain more advantages after they realized how few in numbers his army was. They asked him to give up Rahbah and its environs, but he refused to respond to their request on the grounds that it was under the control of his cousin Nâṣir ad-Deen Muhammad ibn Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh, and he had no power to do that.[955]

Thus Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did not allow any division to enter his ranks. He may have discovered that the Zangids wanted to strike at his forces from within, so he preferred to protect the unity of his camp. As a result of this refusal, the Zangids decided to continue their military operations, but Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen defeated the Zangid army in a place on the borders of Hamah in the valley of the Orontes River known as Quroon Hamah, which lies to the north of the city. That occurred on 19 Ramadân 570 AH/23 April 1175 CE. He captured a number of emirs, but then released them; he pursued his opponents as far as the gates of Aleppo, where he besieged the city for a second time. He issued orders that the Friday sermons in the name of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ be stopped and his name removed from the coinage in the areas under his control.[956] Nevertheless, he did not feel that he had sufficient strength to carry on fighting.

For their part, the people of Aleppo were inclined towards a peace deal.[957] As the result of negotiations between the two sides, a truce was decided upon in which it was determined that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would have what was in his possession of Greater Syria, and the Zangid allies would have what was in their possession. Added to his possessions would be some lands north of Hamah, such as al-Ma'arrah[958] and Kafar Tâb.[959] After signing the deal, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen left Aleppo.[960] The victory achieved by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in Quroon Hamah helped to consolidate his position in Syria, and also weakened the position of his opponents; it also led to him taking the title 'King of Egypt and Greater Syria' and prayers for offered for him under that title on the pulpits; gold coins were also issued in this name.[961]

In fact, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's intentions in dealing positively with al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ismâ'eel were sincere. He tried to convince him that he was prepared to serve him sincerely, although it was clear that he would never allow his opponents to be close to him. Aṣ-Ṣâliḥ regarded this service as his due and a required duty. With this

positive refusal of all attempts to reach an understanding, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had no choice but to absolve himself from this obligation and did not find any reason not to go ahead and give himself the title of king.[962]

The echoes of the battle of al-Quroon were as serious as its consequences. No sooner had the sultan reached Hamah on his way back than the envoys of the caliph al-Mustadi' reached him, bearing gifts of honour and black banners, and a document to confirm his authority over Egypt and Greater Syria, excluding Aleppo. Thus he became the legitimate ruler, the greatest and strongest in the entire region, and the true heir of Noor ad-Deen in principle. This was what annoyed the defeated Zangids and increased the resentment of both the Aleppans and the Franks. All of that led to the resumption of fighting, as if the treaty with Aleppo and the security had all been in vain.[963]

The battle of Tell Sulṭân and the final attempt to expel Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen

In fact the dispute between the Ayubids and Zangids, did not end with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's victory at Quroon Hamah. Sayf ad-Deen Ghazi II did not lose hope when the news of defeat reached him. He was annoyed by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's receiving official recognition from the caliph of his rule of Egypt and Greater Syria, in addition to the coinage that was minted in his name, which prompted him to think of revenge and make military plans to corner him and guarantee victory for himself. His plan was fourfold:

- o He sent word to the emirs of Aleppo rebuking them and blaming them for hastening to make a peace deal; he urged them to break it and cooperate with him in fighting the coming battle.[964]

- He sent an emissary to Raymond III, Count of Tripoli and regent of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, asking him to form an alliance with him and support him against Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.[965]
- He tried to find out Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's intentions. He sent a messenger to him on the pretext of seeking a peace deal, but the real mission was to mislead him and find out what his intentions were. Sayf ad-Deen's messenger made a mistake when he took out the letter Sayf ad-Deen had written to the emirs of Aleppo. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen read it and realized what the Zangids were planning; at the same time he realized that the emirs of Aleppo had broken the treaty which they had made with him and were preparing to continue fighting.[966]
- He won over the rulers of Hasankeyf[967], Mardin and other Turkmen emirs; his brother 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi II, ruler of Sinjâr, also indicated that he was ready to cooperate with him.[968]

It is clear that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was not far away from this hostile environment. In order to put a stop to this cooperation between Sayf ad-Deen Ghâzi II and the Count of Tripoli, he made an offer of peace and friendship to the latter, if he would take a neutral stance and would release the Crusader prisoners he was holding as a sign of his good intentions.[969] Sayf ad-Deen Ghâzi II assembled a large number of troops and led them to Nusaybin[970] in Rabee' I 571 AH/September 1175 CE, where he stayed until the end of winter, then he crossed the Euphrates from Bira.[971] He wrote to Sa'd ad-Deen Gumushtigin and al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ismâ'eel, asking them to support him. In fact it was agreed that the ruler of Mosul would come to Aleppo and meet up with his nephew so that they could decide together on the next step.[972]

The two parties met in a place known as 'Ayn al-Mubârakah, and it was decided that the armies of Aleppo and Mosul would join together. The combined number of these two armies was twenty thousand troops. This huge army moved towards Damascus in Ramadân 571 AH/1176 CE, and halted at Tell Sulṭân, twenty miles south of Aleppo.[973]

At this point Gumushtigin decided to cooperate with the Crusaders in order to force Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen to fight on two fronts and thus weaken him. Hence he released the Crusader prisoners in Aleppo, especially Reynald de Châtillon, the ruler of Kerak, and Joscelin, Count of Edessa, as a gesture of goodwill.[974] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen made a move towards his opponents after receiving reinforcements from Egypt. He crossed the Orontes river at Shayzar[975] in Shawwâl/April, and passed by Quroon Hamah, until he reached Tell Sulṭân. No more than ten days passed before he was caught unawares by Sayf ad-Deen Ghâzi II, when his own troops had dispersed to find water for their horses. However, the ruler of Mosul hesitated to attack, and decided to delay the encounter until the following day.[976] When he mobilized his troops the following morning, on 10 Shawwâl/12 April, to attack the camp of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, it was too late.[977]

The two sides met in an intense battle. The first attack of the Zangids nearly succeeded, but Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen led the reserve troops he had with him to counter attack, and broke through the enemy lines; before evening he had gained control of the situation and inflicted great losses on the Zangids. Some of their leaders fell captive, but Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was kind to them and let them go,[978] showing great flexibility in political thinking. It seems that the aim was to win them over, especially since they were people of high standing and influence.

Sayf ad-Deen Ghazi II thought that this defeat was enough and decided to return home.[979] He had not gained anything but the

enmity of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. The wealth that he left behind in his camp when he withdrew was given by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen to his troops by way of reward. This decisive victory paved the way for Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen to annex Aleppo and its environs, but at this point he did not want to pursue the remnants of the Zangid troops and besiege Aleppo; he was content to launch raids against the possessions of his opponents in the area, after his troops took control of the fortresses surrounding Aleppo to the north and south. As a result of this division in the Muslim ranks, the two sides thought it was necessary to begin negotiations for the sake of making peace and preventing the Crusaders from benefitting from this situation as well as serving the interests of the Muslims in general. Hence both sides made some concessions and decided on the following deal:

- They would all be united against the Crusaders.
- None of the parties was allowed to break the treaty.
- If any party broke the treaty or went against it, the others would be united against it until it came back to the Muslim ranks.
- Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen conceded the citadel of 'Azâz[980] to al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ.
- The truce was concluded in Muharram 572 AH/July 1176 CE.[981]

Death of Sayf ad-Deen Ghazi II and succession of 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood I

It seems that developments in Mosul took a different course that attracted Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's attention once again. Sayf ad-Deen Ghâzi II died in Safar 576 AH/July 1180 CE. Something strange had

happened during his reign, which was that people went out to pray for rain in Mosul in 575 AH, because of high prices in the city. Sayf ad-Deen came out with his retinue and the people rushed to him, seeking his help. They asked him to issue orders banning the sale of wine, and he responded to their request. They entered the city and sought out the establishments of the wine-makers, breaking down the doors, plundering the houses, pouring away the wine and breaking the vessels; they did things that are not permissible.

The occupants of those houses sought help from the sultan's deputies, and they complained in particular about a man among the righteous whose name was Abul-Faraj ad-Daqqâq, who had not been involved in plundering; all he had done was pour away the wine. When he saw what the common folk were doing, he told them not to do that, but they did not listen to him. When the complaint was made, he was brought to the citadel and struck on the head, and his turban fell off. When he was released, he left the citadel bareheaded, and they wanted to cover his head with his turban but he did not do that and said, "By Allah, I will not cover it again until Allah avenges me against those who have wronged me."

It was not long before ad-Duzdâr, who had wronged him, died.

That was followed by Sayf ad-Deen falling sick, and his sickness continued until he died. He was thirty years old, and his governorship had lasted for ten years and some months. In life, he was one of the most handsome of men, with a fine profile, good features, white skin, a well-groomed beard and an average build, neither skinny nor fat. He was wise and dignified, and did not turn around often (inquisitively, to see what was going on) whether he was riding or sitting. He was decent, and it was never said that he did anything that was contrary to decency. His protective jealousy was strong; he did not allow any servant to enter his womenfolk's quarters without saying takbeer;[982] only child servants entered upon

them. He did not like to shed blood or seize wealth, and was also somewhat on the stingy side.[983]

After his death, Mosul entered a vicious circle of conflicts to find his replacement. Sayf ad-Deen Ghâzi II had wanted his son Mu'izz ad-Deen Sanjar to succeed him. Mu'izz at that time was twelve years old, and Sayf ad-Deen had been worried about what would happen to his state after he was gone because of the ambitions of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, owing to his son's youth. His brother 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood also objected to this decision on the grounds that he was more entitled to rule, and he was supported by the emirs of Mosul. The emir Mujâhid ad-Deen Qaymâz explained to Sayf ad-Deen Ghâzi II the dangers that the Atabeg state would face as the result of a young boy's accession at the time when Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's strength in Greater Syria was on the increase. It seems that Sayf ad-Deen Ghâzi II was convinced by his emirs' view and he appointed his brother 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood as his successor.[984]

Death of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ismâ'eel ibn Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood

Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ismâ'eel ibn Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood died on 25 Rajab 577 AH in the citadel of Aleppo and was buried there. The cause of his death — it was said — was that the emir 'Alam ad-Deen Sulaymân ibn Jundur murdered him by putting poison in a bunch of grapes whilst he was out hunting. It was also said that he was assassinated by Yaqoot al-Asadi who put poison in his drink, which caused him to suffer colic, and he remained like that until he died, may Allah have mercy on him. He was a handsome, good looking young man who had not yet reached the age of twenty. He was one of the most decent of kings and the most like his father; he did not wrong anyone. The doctors prescribed wine for him during

his illness; he consulted one of the scholoars of jurisprudence about that, and the latter issued a ruling stating that he could drink it.

Aṣ-Ṣâliḥ asked him, "Will drinking it extend or shorten my life at all?"

The scholar replied, "No."

He said, "Then by Allah I will not drink it, for I do not want to meet Allah having drunk what He forbade to me."

When he lost all hope of recovery, he summoned his emirs and made them swear allegiance to his cousin 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood, the ruler of Mosul, because of his strength and position, and so as to prevent Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen from capturing Aleppo; he was also afraid that allegiance would be sworn to his other cousin, 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi the ruler of Sinjâr, who was his sister's husband and had been raised by his father, lest he be unable to protect Aleppo again from Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.

When he died, the Aleppans summoned 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood ibn Quṭub ad-Deen, the ruler of Mosul, who came to them with great pomp and ceremony, and it was a great day. That occurred on 20 Sha'bân. He received the city's treasures and income, and whatever weapons it had. Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar was in the city of Manbij and fled to Hamah, where he found that the people had already declared their allegiance to 'Izz ad-Deen, the ruler of Mosul. The people of Aleppo encouraged 'Izz ad-Deen to recapture Damascus in the absence of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, who was back in Egypt, and told him that the people of Damascus loved this Atabeg dynasty.

He responded, "There are many promises and covenants between me and him, and you want me to betray him?"

He stayed in Aleppo for several months, and travelled to Raqqah where he stayed and the envoys of his brother 'Imâd ad-Deen

Zangi came to him asking him to trade Aleppo for Sinjâr. They persisted in asking but he refused, then he did that reluctantly, handing Aleppo over to him, and 'Imâd ad-Deen handed over Sinjar, Kaboor, Raqqah, Nusaybin, Surooj [985] and other cities to him. When the sultan, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, heard of this, he set out from Egypt with his troops and marched until he reached the Euphrates. He crossed the river and met some of the emirs of the ruler of Mosul, but they retreated. As a result, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen captured all of Mesopotamia and wanted to besiege Mosul, but that did not happen. Instead, he came to Aleppo and took it from 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi.[986]

The first siege of Mosul

Political developments in Syria, Mesopotamia and Mosul after the death of aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ismâ'eel prompted Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen to leave Egypt and head eastwards in order to be closer to the events that were unfolding there, so that he could intervene when circumstances dictated it. He regarded the way in which 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood I was running the affairs of Aleppo as contrary to the treaty that had been drawn up between the Ayubids and Zangids, because this city and its neighbouring citadels belonged to him by the Abbasid caliph's decree. Furthermore, this breach of the treaty could lead to the end of the mission of Islamic unity that he was striving to achieve. Hence he took many steps on his way eastwards aimed at disconnecting Aleppo from what was around it.

He asked his nephew, Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar, ruler of Hamah, Farrookh Shah, ruler of Damascus, and other emirs to attack the regions west of Mesopotamia and annex them to the Ayubid possessions, and to prevent the army of Mosul from crossing the Euphrates. But Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar was unable to prevent 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood I from entering Aleppo. Farrookh Shah was also

preoccupied with withstanding the efforts of Reynald de Châtillon to invade the Arabian Peninsula, to which end the latter had set out from the fortress of Kerak.[987]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen wrote a letter to the Abbasid caliph an-Nâṣir li Deen-Illâh (575-622 AH/1180-1225 CE), in which he outlined his efforts and jihad for the sake of Islam and the great things he had achieved for the Abbasid caliphate. He explained his role in the downfall of the Fatimid caliphate and the restoration of Abbasid authority in Egypt. He also described to him the bad situation in Syria, the vulnerability of Hârim[988] to Crusader attacks, the betrayal of the ruler of Mosul, the transgressions of the Aleppan troops against his possessions and their seeking help from the Crusaders, and their correspondence with the Assassins with the aim of cooperating with them against the Islamic unity mission he was striving to achieve. He reminded him that the caliph al-Mustadi' bi Amr-Illâh had given him authority over Aleppo and its environs, and that he had only given it up for the sake of the son of Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood, but now he could not but ask for his rights. He expressed that by saying, "Now let everyone who had a right take what is his due, and let everyone be content with his lot."[989]

For his part, 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood I made a move towards the Crusaders in order to win them over and urge them to attack the Muslim borders, so as to distract Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen from targeting his territory. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was very annoyed by the betrayal of the ruler of Mosul, so he decided to focus his attention on the areas of northern Syria and Mesopotamia. He headed towards Aleppo and Mosul, and was joined in his march to Aleppo by Muzaffar ad-Deen Kawkaboori, the ruler of Harrân, who suggested to him that he should cross the Euphrates and capture the land lying to the east before heading towards Aleppo, so that he would not be distracted from it by anything else, and he promised to help him.[990] It is worth

mentioning that Kawkaboori had a dispute with the ruler of Mosul and his deputy Qaymâz, who had dismissed him from his post as governor of Irbil.[991]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen set out towards Aleppo with the approval of the caliph, and besieged it for three days in Jumâda I/September, after which he moved towards Mosul in order to capture it from the Zangids, preferring to annex Mesopotamia and its fortresses beforehand. He crossed the Euphrates at Bira, the ruler of which was Shihâb ad-Deen Muhammad ibn Ilyâs al-Artuqi, who was loyal to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. The Artuqids in Hasankeyf and Mardin then announced their loyalty to him and joined his army. The cities of Mesopotamia began to fall to him, one after another, Edessa, Surooj, Nusaybin, Raqqah, Khaboor and others. He appointed Kawkaboori as governor of Edessa, Ḥusâm ad-Deen Abul-Ḥayja' as-Sameen as governor of Nusaybin, and he gave Khaboor to Jamâl ad-Deen Khoshtareen.[992] Thus Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen succeeded in gaining control of all of Diyar Mudar (in the Jazeerah region) and forming an alliance opposed to the emir of Mosul.

There was now nothing left for him to do but head towards Mosul and subjugate it. In fact, Mosul was a source of worry for him, and an obstacle that stood in the way of achieving his aims. So he decided that he had no alternative but to conquer it, if he could not gain its support and cooperation. He realized that he could not realize his objective unless he annexed Mosul, Sinjar and Jazeerat Ibn 'Umar.[993] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen arrived in Mosul in Rajab 578 AH/ December 1182 CE, and laid a concentrated siege to the city. Then he soon attacked it, but he did not breach its defences; it proved to be a difficult target for him because of its fortifications, the strength of its walls and the huge preparations that had been made by 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood I and his deputy Qaymâz. They had mobilized large numbers of troops to defend it, using weapons which included

stupendous siege machines.[994] During the siege, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen undertook reconnaissance around the city, and it became clear to him that it was impossible to breach it.[995]

In the meantime, the ruler of Mosul took measures to seek help from allies all around. He sent al-Qâḍi Bahâ' ad-Deen Ibn Shaddâd to Baghdad to seek the help of the Abbasid caliph in repelling Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen from his land, and the caliph wrote to Ṣadr ad-Deen Shaykh ash-Shuyookh, who was with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, ordering him to mediate between the two sides.[996] He sought help from Qizil Arslan, the ruler of Azerbaijan,[997] Bahlawân ibn Ildakaz, the atabeg of Hamadhân,[998] and Baktamar Suqmân, the ruler of Khallât.[999] None of them tried to help except Baktamar, who sent word to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen asking him to accept his intercession and to stay away from Mosul.[1000]

Despite the fact that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sent Baktamar's envoys away, all these factors prompted him to rethink his plans to annex Mosul by force, and he decided to use diplomatic means instead. It seems that he found himself in a difficult position and was afraid of losing his status as a Mujâhid for the sake of Islam due to appearing to harbour ambitions against the state of Mosul. So he suggested a peace deal to 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood I, who asked him to return the lands that had been taken from him. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen agreed to that on condition that he did not object to the annexation of Aleppo, but the ruler of Mosul refused to betray his brother and was keen for his brother to keep his authority in Aleppo, and announced that he was prepared to help him if he was faced with danger.[1001]

Annexation of Sinjar

As a result of the failure of negotiations between the two sides, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen decided to put more pressure on Mosul and isolate it

from Aleppo. Sinjar was the city that gave him the opportunity to carry out this plan. Hence he lifted the siege of Mosul and went to Sinjar on 16 Sha'bân 576 AH/15 December 1182 CE. He notified the caliph of what he had decided to do. He besieged the city for fifteen days until it fell to him.[1002]

Consequences of the annexation of Sinjar

The annexation of Sinjar provoked the emirs of Mesopotamia, who called one another to a defensive alliance against Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's policy, as they were aggravated by his penetration into the Mesopotamia region and his annexation of Sinjar, which threatened their security. This alliance consisted of Shah Arman Suqmân, ruler of Khallât, Quṭub ad-Deen ibn Najm ad-Deen Albi, ruler of Mardeen, Dawlat Shah ruler of Badlees[1003] and Arzan[1004], in addition to 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood I.[1005] The allies went out to confront him, taking advantage of the fact that his army was scattered throughout Mesopotamia, and camped in Harzum, on the outskirts of Mardeen. When he learned of their march, he gathered his army and marched to Ra's al-'Ayn[1006] to meet them. It seems that they were afraid to enter into battle, so they scattered and returned to their homelands.[1007] Thus 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood I failed in his attempt to expel Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen from Mesopotamia despite the support of some of its emirs; he no longer had the power to put any obstacles in the way of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's ventures in the region.[1008]

Annexation of Âmid

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen took advantage of the division and weakness among his opponents and went to Âmid, after seeking permission from the caliph an-Nâṣir li Deen-Illâh to attack it, which was granted to him. Noor ad-Deen Muhammad, the ruler of Hasankeyf, had urged

him to attack it and capture it and hand it over to him, in accordance with the agreement between them.[1009] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen reached Âmid on 17 Dhul-Ḥijjah 578 AH/15 April 1183 CE and laid siege to it. Its provisional ruler, Muhammad ibn Ildakaz, was weak and had no authority except in name only. Its actual ruler was Bahâ' ad-Deen ibn Nisân, who was known for his miserliness and bad conduct, and for withholding provisions and assets from the inhabitants of the city. During this time, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sent letters to the prominent emirs of Âmid, making promises and issuing threats if they persisted in fighting.[1010] These circumstances led to the inhabitants becoming unfocused and careless in defending the city, so Ibn Nisân was forced to ask for safe passage for himself and his family, and to ask Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen to give him three days to move his personal property and treasures. After the end of this period, he handed the city over to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen on 10 Muharram 579 AH/16 May 1183 CE, and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in turn handed it and its environs over to Noor ad-Deen Muhammad. He ordered Noor ad-Deen to establish justice and put an end to injustice, and to hear and obey the sultan with regard to facing their enemies and showing kindness to their allies at all times, and told him that any time he asked for reinforcements from Âmid to fight the Franks, he should find them ready.[1011]

Annexation of Aleppo

After taking over areas of Mesopotamia that were adjacent to the emirate of Aleppo, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen decided to annex them into his possessions before taking Mosul. So he crossed the Euphrates and camped at Tell Khâlid on the outskirts of Aleppo, and besieged it until it surrendered in Muharram 579 AH/May 1183 CE. Then he travelled from there to 'Ayntab (Gaziantep),[1012] the ruler of which, Nâṣir ad-Deen Muhammad ibn Khimârtagin offered allegiance to

him and asked him to leave him in position in charge of his emirate. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen agreed to that, then moved on from 'Ayntab to Aleppo, where he camped on 26 Muharram/21 May, but he did not initiate the fighting; rather he camped in a place known as 'the Green Field', then he moved a few days later to Mount Jawshan and gave 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi II the impression that he was building lodgings there for himself and his troops, so as to force him to surrender, thus avoiding bloodshed.[1013] 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi II was forced to begin negotiations with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen for the handover of the city, and the emir Ḥusâm ad-Deen Toomân acted as mediator between them. The negotiations ended with the following conclusions:

- 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi II was to give up Aleppo to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen
- Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was to give 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi II Sinjâr, Khaboor, Nusaybin and Surooj
- Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was to give Ḥusâm ad-Deen Toomân and Raqqah
- 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi II was to put his military forces at the disposal of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen whenever he asked him to

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen entered Aleppo after the conclusion of this deal on 17 Safar 579 AH/18 June 1183 CE, and was welcomed by its inhabitants.[1014]

Consequences of the annexation of Aleppo

As a result of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's annexation of Aleppo, his position was strengthened and the Islamic front became more cohesive; he became so powerful that he was able to focus on fighting the Crusaders, thus their fears increased. They regarded this

event as the greatest crisis they had ever faced. In addition to that, it strengthened political and military ties between Egypt and Greater Syria; the Crusader kingdoms in Greater Syria found themselves besieged along this axis. Bohemond III, ruler of Antioch, asked Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen for security and he granted him a truce so as to allow himself time to perfect his plans to unite the Muslim world in the Near East.[1015]

Second siege of Mosul

Soon new developments in Mosul forced Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen once again to intervene in its affairs. In Jumâda I 579 AH/September 1183 CE, 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood I listened to the incitement of some of his senior emirs against his deputy Mujâhid ad-Deen Qaymâz, against whom they shared a strong enmity. 'Izz ad-Deen arrested him, imprisoned him and confiscated his property. Irbil, Jazeerat Ibn 'Umar, Shahrazoor,[1016] Daqooqa[1017] and Qal'at 'Aqar al-Ḥameediyah were all under the rule of Qaymâz, administered by deputies in his name. When he was arrested, these deputies decided to rebel. Both Zayn ad-Deen Yoosuf, the governor of Irbil and Mu'izz ad-Deen Sanjar Shah, the governor of Jazeerat Ibn 'Umar, sent letters of loyalty to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, and these two cities came under his control.

By means of this irresponsible attitude, 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood I contributed to the weakening of his own position vis-a-vis Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. 'Izz ad-Deen inclined towards diplomacy and sent al-Qâḍi Bahâ' ad-Deen ibn Shaddâd to the Abbasid caliph in Shawwâl 579 AH/January 1184 CE, asking him to intervene again to bring about a reconciliation between him and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. The caliph responded to his request and sent Shaykh ash-Shuyookh and Basheer al-Khâdim to Damascus to negotiate with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen for a solution to the

problems between him and the ruler of Mosul. Muḥiy ad-Deen ash-Shahrazoori joined them as the representative of the ruler of Mosul, accompanied by al-Qâḍi Ibn Shaddâd.[1018] The negotiations came to a dead end, however, because Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen insisted that the rulers of Irbil and Jazeerat Ibn 'Umar should have the freedom to choose whether they joined him or the ruler of Mosul. This position was rejected by the representative of 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood I, who insisted that they should follow the ruler of Mosul, and that their names should be mentioned in the treaty document. So the envoys went back without having achieved anything.[1019]

'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood, who had put himself in this dilemma, realized that the situation was critical and regretted what he had done to his deputy, and he tried to rectify matters; he released him from prison and restored to him his former authority.[1020] Mujâhid ad-Deen Qaymâz came out of prison at a time when Mosul had lost some of its power and the morale of those in authority was on the decline, so he strove to restore the strength of the various branches of the state, including the army, asking for help from neighbouring forces. He succeeded in his attempt to win over Qazal, the ruler of Azerbaijan, who supplied him with three thousand troops.[1021] After he became certain of his ability to take action, he decided to recapture the cities that the Atabegs had lost; he attacked Irbil, but he failed to breach its walls.[1022]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was not unaware of what was going on, and he decided to intervene in the interests of his ally Zayn ad-Deen Yoosuf, the ruler of Irbil, and, after that, to head towards Mosul to wrest it from the clutches of 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood I. He soon mobilized his forces and set out, leading them to Harrân in Safar 581 AH/May 1185 CE. He camped at Ra's al-'Ayn, then he went to Dunaysar,[1023] where he was joined by 'Imâd ad-Deen ibn Qara Arslân al-Artuqi and the troops of his brother Noor ad-Deen Muhammad, the ruler of

Hasankeyf and Âmid. They marched together to Nusaybin, where they were joined by Mu'izz ad-Deen Sanjar Shah ibn Sayf ad-Deen Ghazi I, ruler of Jazeerat Ibn 'Umar.[1024] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen continued to march towards Mosul, and camped in Ismâ'eeliyât which is close to the city in Rabee' I 581 AH/June 1185 CE.

To reinforce his position, he sent a letter to the Abbasid caliph telling him of his decision to settle matters with Mosul. He indicated that the people of Mosul were giving Friday sermons and issuing coinage in the name of Tughrul the Seljuk, the sultan of Persia and the opponent of the caliph, as well as corresponding with the Crusaders and inciting them to attack Muslim lands. He also mentioned that his decision was not based on any ambition to expand his own realm or get rid of the Zangids, rather it was to bring them back to obeying the caliph and supporting Islam, to prevent them from committing injustice and transgressing the sacred limits, and to cut off their relationship with the Seljuks of Persia and force them to respect their neighbour's rights and uphold the ties of kinship.[1025]

The pressure on 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood I was intense, and he felt helpless, so he was inclined to reach a deal; he headed a delegation which included the daughter of his paternal uncle Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood and other women, and a number of prominent figures, to seek a reconciliation and an end to the siege of Mosul. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would have accepted this offer of reconciliation were it not for the objection of al-Faqeeh 'Eesâ al-Ḥakâri and the emir 'Ali ibn Aḥmad al-Mashtoob, who warned him against accepting this offer and said, "A city like Mosul should not be given up for the sake of a woman." 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood only sent the women because he was unable to protect the city.[1026] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was convinced by their argument and gave his apologies to the delegation from Mosul, and continued to besiege the city. However, there were many obstacles in his way, so he was forced to lift the siege of Mosul.

Among the most important of these obstacles were the following:

The people of Mosul were able to go out from the eastern side and fight the Ayubid forces, then return into the city, which put pressure on Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's forces.

Qaymâz had strengthened the fortifications of the city and reorganized the army, so that they were able to resist the Ayubid attacks, and the troops fought courageously to defend the city.

The siege of Mosul occurred during the summer when temperatures were very high, so Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen ordered a halt of military operations until the temperature dropped.

It so happened that water levels in the Tigris fell at that time, so the engineers suggested to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen that he should divert the course of the river away from Mosul, to cut off water for its inhabitants so that they would become thirsty and would be forced to surrender. But Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen thought that this project would take more time than he had and a lot of effort that would exhaust the troops.

During the siege, it so happened that Shah Arman, the ruler of Khallât, died without leaving a son to succeed him, and Noor ad-Deen Muhammad, the ruler of Âmid and Hasankeyf, also died;[1027] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen felt he ought to organize the affairs of the Artuqid emirates in a way that served his aims.[1028]

Attempt to annex Khallât

One of the Mamelukes of Shah Arman, whose name was Sayf ad-Deen Baktamar, took charge in Khallât after the death of its ruler. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen hoped to annex the city and consulted his general staff concerning that. Some of them suggested that he continue besieging

Mosul whilst others advised him to travel to Khallât and take over the city on the grounds that it would be a first step towards taking over the other citadels in the area. As a result of this difference of opinions, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen hesitated did not know what decision to make until he received letters from the people of Khallât summoning him so that they could hand over the city to him.[1029]

In fact, Shams ad-Deen Bahlawân ibn Ildakaz, the ruler of Azerbaijan and Hamdhân, hoped to take over Khallât when he found out about the death of Shah Arman. Baktamar was afraid that he would lose his position if this happened, and the people of Khallât refused to submit to Bahlawân. To prevent him coming and taking over the city, Baktamar came to an agreement with the prominent people of the city to write to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen saying that they agreed to give their allegiance to him; their intention, however, was to set the two sides against one another so that the city would remain in their hands. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen headed towards Khallât without knowing the intentions of Baktamar. In his vanguard were his cousin Nâṣir ad-Deen Muhammad ibn Shirkuh, Muzaffar ad-Deen son of the ruler of Harrân, and others. They camped in Tawânah, near Khallât, and he sent al-Faqeeh 'Eesâ al-Ḥakâri and Ghars ad-Deen Qilij Arslân to Khallât to discuss the terms of the handover. He himself headed towards Mayafariqin, to annex it. As for Bahlawân, he had marched towards Khallât and camped near the city. Then the envoys of Baktamar went back and forth between the two sides. They warned Bahlawân that if he attacked Khallât, Baktamar would hand the city over to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, but Bahlawân was able to win Baktamar over, and gave him his daughter in marriage. Baktamar apologized to the envoys of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, who went back without having achieved their aim. Thus Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's efforts to take over Khallât failed.[1030] For his part, Quṭub ad-Deen Suqmân, who had succeeded his father as ruler of Âmid and Hasankeyf, offered his loyalty to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen for fear that he might take Âmid back from him.[1031]

Annexation of Mayafariqin

Mayafariqin was under the rule of Ḥusâm ad-Deen Yoolaq ibn Quṭub ad-Deen Ilghazi, ruler of Mardin, who was ten years old; in it was a garrison belonging to Shah Arman the ruler of Khallât, and its troops were led by Asad ad-Deen Yaranqash, who had refused to come under Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's banner and had declared his rebellion. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was forced to besiege the city but was not able to breach its defences, so he decided to use a political ruse. He contacted the widow of Quṭub ad-Deen who was living there and gave her the impression that Yaranqash had made an agreement with him to surrender the city; he also sent word to Yaranqash telling him that this lady was inclined towards a peace deal. By means of this subterfuge he annexed the city on 29 Jumâda I 581 AH/28 August 1185 CE.[1032] At that point a letter reached Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen from the Abbasid caliph, appointing him in charge of Diyarbakir and of taking care of its kings' orphans, thus Friday sermons were given and coinage was minted in his name in the Artuqid provinces.

Third siege of Mosul: Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen takes over

When Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had finished with Mayafariqin, he returned to Mosul to besiege it for the third time. He travelled via Nusaybin, reaching Kafar Zahhâr in Sha'bân 581 CE, where he stayed until winter ended. Then the envoy of 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood, ruler of Mosul, came, seeking a peace deal.[1033] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen fell ill at that time and went to Harrân, so 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood I took advantage of this opportunity to renew his attempts to make an agreement with him, after having despaired of getting support from the caliph and the Persian ruler. He sent Bahâ' ad-Deen ibn Shaddâd,

giving him the authority to sign a peace deal.[1034] The peace deal between the two sides stated the following:

1. 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood, the Atabeg of Mosul, was to hand over to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen Shahrazoor and its environs, the province of Qurâbi and all the territory beyond Zâb, as well as the province of Bani Qafhâq.[1035]

2. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was to give up Mosul and its environs to 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood Zangi, which would be under his administration, but would belong to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen as a "self-governing" area within the framework of the Ayubid state.

3. 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood would be obliged to order that Friday sermons be given in the name of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen on the pulpits in the city and surrounding areas, and his government was to stop giving Friday sermons in the name of the Seljuks in those areas. 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood also agreed to mint coins in the name of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in that land.

4. 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood and his troops were obliged to be at the service of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen whenever he called him, and both sides were to take part in the jihad against the Crusaders and the fight to take back Palestine.

5. Both sides promised to adhere to the previous agreement, the terms of which had been agreed verbally in Dhul-Hijjah 581 AH/3 March 1186 CE. (This deal would continue to be in effect and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen adhered to this deal and never changed it until he died.[1036])

By means of this agreement, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was able to unite the Islamic front under his leadership and become the strongest Muslim ruler in the region. Now that this had been achieved, he had to strive to achieve the greater goal, which was to liberate Jerusalem and the rest of the Muslim lands from the Crusader invaders.[1037]

Regarding the relationship between Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and the Zangid dynasty: at a time when some historians among his contemporaries and certain modern researchers have expressed doubts about Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's motives and his relationship with the Zangid dynasty, it may be stated that this doubt can be rendered baseless on the following counts:

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was very eager in his correspondence with the Abbasid caliph to explain, in precise detail, the motives for his actions.

The motive that was the justification for his actions always came back to the jihad against the Crusaders and the liberation of Jerusalem, as well as the urgent need to unite the Muslim ranks, for the purpose of developing jihad and succeeding in it.

In his dealings with the Zangids, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was always generous after he defeated them in battle, as well as in the way he besieged them.

After achieving the union of Egypt and Syria, and ensuring the support of Mosul, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen immediately began to achieve his second goal which formed his main concern, which was to destroy the field army of the Latin kingdom and conquer Jerusalem. We shall see below that the first aim was achieved in the battle of Hattin, the outcome of which was impacted by his ability to mobilize a huge, united Islamic force at the right time and in the right place; the achievement of the second goal came after the battle of Hattin and as a result of his victory in that battle.[1038]

One of the characteristics that distinguished Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in the peace deal with Mosul was his generosity. It is recorded that he did not leave the Mosul region until he had given its ruler, his mother, his wife, the daughter of Noor ad-Deen, and a number of prominent men of state great gifts worth more than ten thousand dinars, in

addition to horses, perfumes, unique gifts and clothing. Furthermore, after he had recovered from his illness, he travelled with his brother al-'Âdil at the beginning of 582 CE to Aleppo, then to Damascus, and he wrote to all his governors telling them to pay *sadaqah.*[1039] In Damascus alone he paid sadaqah of five thousand Egyptian dinars.[1040]

Ismaili Shiite attempts to assassinate Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen

After the death of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir in 487 AH/ 1094 CE, the Ismaili sect split into two groups, one of which was the Nizâris who believed that al-Mustansir's oldest son Nizâr was more entitled to become the caliph and who fled eastwards after they were faced with persecution in Egypt. They were led by al-Ḥasan ibn aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ who founded in Persia what was known as the Nizâri group, whose followers were most commonly known as al-Hasheeshiyah (Assassins) or al-Bâṭiniyah. The second group was al-Musta'liyah, the followers of al-Musta'li, the second son of al-Mustansir.

Al-Ḥasan ibn aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ studied Ismaili doctrine in depth.[1041] He Al-Ḥasan ibn al-Sabbâh had grown up in Rey, in Persia, and was influenced in his youth by the Ismaili sect. He visited Egypt and met al-Mustansir.[1042] He remained in Egypt for about eighteen months, during which al-Mustansir showed him great warmth and hospitality, supported him with much money and property, and told him to promote him as imam in Persia.[1043] Al-Ḥasan ibn aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ thought that the appointment of Nizâr as caliph was more in accordance with Ismaili teachings, which stipulated that the imam should be the oldest son of his father.[1044] Undoubtedly al-Ḥasan ibn aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ's stay in Egypt allowed him to become acquainted with affairs in the Fatimid state and the way the Ismaili sect had ended up under the control of

Badr al-Jamali. He resolved to promote the cause of al-Mustansir in Persia and Khorasan, and strive to establish a purely Ismaili society.[1045]

When he returned to Persia, he began to spread his message of support for Nizâr, refusing to swear allegiance to al-Musta'li and regarding himself as the imam's deputy in planning to establish a new Ismaili state in the Muslim East.[1046] After he returned to Persia and reached Isfahân in 473 AH, he began to preach in secret. When Nizâm al-Mulk put increased pressure on him, he went to Qazvin[1047] and took over Qal'at al-Mawt ('the citadel of death'), making it a base for himself and his group.[1048] The group expanded and spread mischief in the land.[1049] Hardly had al-Ḥasan ibn aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ taken over Qal'at al-Mawt when he hastened to capture neighbouring citadels too. He sent out his preachers to achieve this aim.[1050]

It was not long before aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ had taken over the entire region south of Qazvin, after gaining control of the citadels scattered throughout the area; there were nearly sixty such citadels, most of which were located in the midst of arable valleys and near reliable water sources. Each citadel was an independent military and economic unit whose inhabitants lived a self-reliant life, farming the land and defending the citadel and its surrounding area against any aggression or invasion.[1051]

During the era of Nizâm al-Mulk as-Seljuki, Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ managed to direct his fanatically loyal followers to achieve political aims to the detriment of his opponents, especially the Sunni Abbasid caliphate, the legitimacy of which he challenged, in addition to opposing some of the Muslim Seljuk emirs. The main weapon he used was assassination.[1052] His followers carried out a series of assassinations whose victims were many officials and emirs of the Abbasid state. They became a serious threat, and they grew strong; people feared them greatly and were filled with terror. Al-Ḥasan aṣ-

Ṣabbâḥ and his Ismaili Shiite followers harboured a great hatred towards Ahl as-Sunnah.

The Shiite, Bâṭini, Ismaili movement expanded and gained control of a number of important fortresses in Syria, such as Qudmoos, 'Aleefah, Kahf, Masyâf and others. It is clear that they were alarmed by the demise of the Fatimid caliphate and the victory of the Sunni madh-hab in Egypt, and they sensed the danger that was threatening them in Syria, especially since Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood had limited their expansion towards the east. For that reason, in 558 AH/1163 CE, the leadership in Qal'at al-Mawt sent Rasheed ad-Deen Sinân al-Baṣri, who was known as Shaykh al-Jabal (the 'Old Man of the Mountain') to take charge of the district of an-Nusayriyah in Syria. He went to Aleppo disguised as a Sufi ascetic and remained there for a few months, then he moved between the Assassins' citadels until he settled in Masyâf.[1053]

First attempt by the Shiite Ismailis to assassinate Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen

The Bâṭini Shiites (the Assassins) resented Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen because he had toppled the Fatimid caliphate and had gone to Syria to unite it with Egypt, which posed a threat to their existence. So Rasheed ad-Deen cooperated with both the Crusaders and the Zangids to put an end to him.[1054] The full name of Rasheed ad-Deen, the tyrant leader of the Ismailis, was Abul-Ḥasan Sinân ibn Sulaymân ibn Muhammad al-Baṣri al-Bâṭini, head of the Nizâri sect of Ismailis.[1055] He was a hard working, solid character who had studied philosophy and had experience of life; he was chivalrous, crafty, treacherous and sophisticated.[1056] Of him adh-Dhahabi remarked:

He was a disaster and a calamity, an ascetic and spiritual preacher. He would sit on a rock, moving nothing but his tongue. He influenced them and they exaggerated about him, and some of them thought that he was divine — may they perish, how ignorant they are! He deceived them with witchcraft and alchemy. He wrote many books and read widely, and he lived a long time.[1057]

In 570 AH/1174 CE, al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ismâ'eel, at the instigation of Gumushtigin, sent word to Rasheed ad-Deen, asking him for help, and offered him a lot of money and a number of villages if he would kill Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. It is clear that the interest that the two sides had in common was their enmity towards Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. Rasheed ad-Deen sent a group of his commandos to the Ayubid camp, where they were discovered by an emir called Khamartigin. They killed him and reached Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's tent in the middle of the camp. One of them attacked him to kill him, but was killed before he could do that, and the rest fought to defend themselves from being killed. It is unlikely that the incitement of Gumushtigin was the main or only motive for Rasheed ad-Deen to undertake this action, because he was working for his own reasons: since Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had entered Syria, he had become the main enemy of Rasheed ad-Deen's movement, because he was striving to unite Ahl as-Sunnah there, which was a threat to the existence of his movement.[1058]

The second attempt

Rasheed ad-Deen did not stop his attempts to assassinate Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen despite the failure of the first attempt; rather his determination increased. In Dhul-Qa'dah 571 AH/May 1176 CE, he sent a group of his followers, disguised as soldiers, to enter the Ayubid camp during the siege of the citadel of 'Azâz. They started

fighting alongside Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's troops and mixing with them, looking for an opportunity to kill Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. Whilst the troops were preoccupied with besieging the citadel, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen passed by the tent of the emir Jâdili al-Asadi, to encourage the troops to continue fighting. One of the Ismailis attacked him and struck him in the head with a knife, but Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was wearing an iron helmet on his head. The man struck him again, on the cheek, and wounded him. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen grabbed his arm and tried to stop him as he was continuing his attack and strike him, until the emir Sayf ad-Deen Yazkooj caught up with him and killed him. Then a second commando attacked Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, but was confronted by Dâwood ibn Manklân, who killed him. Then a third commando attacked him and tried to complete the mission, but he was intercepted by the emir 'Ali Abul-Fawâris, and was stabbed and killed by Nâṣir ad-Deen Muhammad ibn Shirkuh. A fourth came out of the tent and fled, but was pursued by the troops, who killed him.[1059] This sudden incident made Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen wary, to such an extent that he inspected all of his troops, and whoever he did not recognize he sent away, but whoever he recognized he kept with him. He was very concerned and took strict precautions. Of course this incident had an effect on the troops too, and they stopped fighting for 'Azâz, especially when it was rumoured that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had been killed. As a precaution, he built wooden towers around his tent, and al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil sent a letter to reassure al-Malik al-'Âdil, the brother of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, that his brother was safe and telling him the details of what had really happened.[1060]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's methods in teaching the Ismailis a lesson

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sent word to Rasheed ad-Deen Sinân, threatening him. The Ismaili leader responded, saying:

> I read your letter carefully and we understand what you are threatening. By Allah, it is amazing: a fly buzzing in the ear of an elephant, and a mosquito that can do no harm to a statue. There were people before you who said that and we destroyed them, and they had no supporters. Are you fighting the truth and supporting falsehood? The wrongdoers should realize what will become of them. If you issue orders to cut off my head, and uproot my citadels which are built in strong mountains, that is just wishful thinking and imagination, because the essence cannot be destroyed by transient things and souls do not vanish because of sickness. If we look at it from without and stop talking about what is hidden, we have a good example in the Messenger of Allah: «No prophet was persecuted as I was.»[1061] You know what happened to his family and supporters. It is still the same and is still going on. You know how we appear to be and how our men are, how they wish for death and how they are trying hard to draw close to the cistern of death. As the saying goes, are you threatening the duck with water? Prepare yourself for calamities and shield yourself against death. I shall send against you from you,[1062] and you will be like one who is looking for death by his own hands. That is not difficult for Allah. So watch out for yourself and read the beginning of (Soorah) an-Nahl and the end of (Soorah) Ṣâd.[1063]

After several failed assassination attempts, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen took strict precautions, to the extent that he built wooden towers around

his tent.[1064] This incident had a far-reaching effect on the troops who became confused and stopped fighting for 'Azâz. The situation was chaotic for the people too, as it was rumoured throughout the land that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had been killed. At that point Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was compelled to walk around among his troops so that the people could see him alive and well, and al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil sent a letter to al-Malik al-'Âdil, the brother of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, reassuring him and telling him what had really happened.[1065]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen decided to put an end to this movement, the danger of which had become apparent in Greater Syria. He prepared a military campaign in Muharram 572 AH/August 1176 CE; he besieged their fortresses and set up large mangonels, killed and captured many of them, seized their cattle, wrecked their houses, destroyed their infrastructure, and inflicted severe damage on them, until his maternal uncle, Shihab ad-Deen Maḥmood Tikshi, ruler of Hamah, interceded for them; they had been in contact with him because they were his neighbours. In the end, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen left them alone after having taken revenge on them[1066] and breaking their grip on power.[1067]

The Assassins were forced to come to an agreement with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen after the failure of their repeated attempts to assassinate him and their inability to confront his forces. Hence they preferred for him to be neutral instead of a direct enemy to them. Whatever the case, after the peace treaty was concluded, the historical sources do not mention any friction between the two sides. Only Ibn al-Atheer, in one report, referred to their cooperation when Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen asked Rasheed ad-Deen Sinân to kill Richard the Lionhearted and Conrad of Montferrat, Count of Tyre, and promised to pay him in return for that. Sinân, however, was afraid that after Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen got rid of his enemies, he would be free to focus his attention on the Assassins and destroy them, so he just killed Conrad, and not Richard.[1068]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's relationship with the Seljuks of Rum

'Izz ad-Deen Kilij Arslan II (550-585 AH/1155-1192 CE) was the sultan of the Seljuks of Rum. There was a conflict between him and the Byzantines which ended with his victory over the Byzantines at the battle of Myriokephalon in 571 AH/1176 CE. His victory had an effect on the Byzantine state, and this battle dealt the final blow to the Byzantine army. The historians state that this battle, the battle of Myriokephalon, determined the ultimate fate of Asia Minor and the east, as the Byzantines were no longer able to threaten Syria after that.[1069]

First confrontation between Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and Kilij Arslan II

Kilij Arslan II thought of Greater Syria and wanted to find a guaranteed route to the Euphrates, so he used a soft, diplomatic approach. He sent an envoy to Damascus who met with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and asked him for the fortresses of Ru'bân and Kaysoom, which were south of Kilij Arslan's territory; Ru'bân was a city on the border between Aleppo and Sumaysât, near the Euphrates, and was regarded as a major city;[1070] Kaysoom was a village on the outskirts of Sumaysât.[1071] The envoy of Kilij Arslan came to make this request on the basis that they had previously belonged to the Seljuks of Rum and had been annexed by his father Mas'ood, but he had been forced to give them up to Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood. This message angered and annoyed Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, who spoke harshly to Arslan's envoy and even threatened Kilij Arslan II. The envoy went back to Konya and told the sultan what had happened. Kilij Arslan got angry and attacked the fortress of Ru'bân in 575 AH/1179 CE. This fortress was

ruled by Shams ad-Deen ibn al-Muqaddam on behalf of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. Kilij Arslan attacked it with a large force of several thousand men.

When Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen found out about it, he sent a force of one thousand horsemen led by al-Muzaffar Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar ibn Shahinshah, ruler of Hamah.[1072] He set out with his troops and when he drew near the Seljuk camp, he went around it to reconnoitre, and it seemed to him that Arslan's army was relaxed and unaware of danger, so he took advantage of this opportunity and left some of his troops around the camp with musical instruments, trumpets and the like, whilst he and the other part of his troops prepared to launch a surprise attack on the camp. At the appointed time, he gave the signal for the musicians to start playing music and making sounds that created a loud noise like running feet. When the Seljuk soldiers heard this uproar, with the sounds of music and men running, the clash of iron and the galloping feet of horses, all around the camp, they panicked and thought they were surrounded by a huge number of soldiers and were plunged into chaos. Then they began to flee, looking for escape, leaving behind their tents and loads. At that moment they were ambushed by al-Muzaffar Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar and his horsemen, who began killing and capturing them as they were fleeing heedless of everything. He took as booty all that they had left behind, but he took pity on the captives and let them go. Kilij Arslan returned to Malatya[1073] with his tail between his legs.[1074]

Second confrontation between Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and Kilij Arslan II

One year after these events, the conflict between Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and Kilij Arslan II resumed. This time, family issues were at the root of this conflict. Kilij Arslan II had established political ties with

the rulers of Ḥasankeyf, and reinforced these ties by giving his daughter Seljukah Khatun in marriage to Noor ad-Deen Muhammad ibn Qara Arslan, ruler of Ḥasankeyf. Kilij Arslan II gave him many fortresses adjacent to his land as a dowry. After a while, Noor ad-Deen Muhammad fell in love with a singer, and he married her and neglected his Seljuk wife. She wrote and complained to her father, who sent word to him: either treat her well or divorce her. Noor ad-Deen paid no heed.

At that point Kilij Arslan II decided to launch a military campaign against Noor ad-Deen Muhammad, to teach him a lesson and capture his land. Noor ad-Deen sought the help of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, who sent word to Kilij Arlsan, asking him to give up his attempt against the emirate of Ḥasankeyf. However, he replied that he had given Noor ad-Deen Muhammad a number of fortresses adjacent to his land when he gave his daughter to him in marriage, and he had behaved very badly with his daughter, so he had decided to take back those fortresses. Envoys went back and forth between the two men without achieving any results, so Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had no choice but to head towards Anatolia at the head of his army, to stand up to Kilij Arslan II. He was joined by Noor ad-Deen Muhammad and went to Tell Bâshir, which is a fortified citadel north of Aleppo.[1075] Then he marched on to Ru'bân. When Kilij Arslan II realized that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had come, he feared defeat and immediately sent one of his senior assistants, the emir Ikhtiyâr ibn 'Afrâs, to explain the situation, and that he had no alternative but to discipline Noor ad-Deen Muhammad for his behaviour. This contact led to a meeting between the three parties: Noor ad-Deen, Kilij Arslan and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in Jumâda I 576 AH/October 1180 CE.[1076]

— After extensive negotiations, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen insisted on his view and threatened to march on Malatya and the Seljuk lands if Kilij Arslan persisted in teaching Noor ad-Deen

Muhammad a lesson. During his stay in the Ayubid camp, the Seljuk emir had seen the strength of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and the number of his weapons and mounts, and he was overwhelmed by it. Hence he made a concerted effort to explain the matter from a religious point of view. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was finally convinced by his words, and they agreed that Noor ad-Deen Muhammad would divorce the singer within a year, and that if he did not do that, then Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would cooperate with Kilij Arslan II to fight him.

— All the emirs of Mosul and Diyarbakir and the Artuks agreed to this deal.

It seems that there was a two-party agreement on the side between Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and the Seljuk emir, to the effect that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would help the Seljuks in their war against the Armenians in Cilicia, who were attacking Seljuk lands. The evidence for this is that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen attacked the Armenian lands immediately after signing the deal and before going back to Syria.[1077] Whatever the case, this Ayubid-Seljuk friction would reflect badly to some extent on the relationship between the two sides in the future, and was manifested in the alliances that were formed between Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and the Byzantine emperor Isaac Angelos on the one hand, and between Kilij Arslan II and the 'Holy Roman' Emperor Frederic Barbarossa on the other.[1078]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's relationship with the Abbasid caliphate

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's relationship with the Abbasid caliphate was never bad and never deteriorated to the level of enmity, although it may have grown cool on occasion. If we study Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen we see

that he was connected to the Abbasid caliphate because of his connection to the Zangids. The Zangid leader Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood loved the Abbasid caliph al-Mustadi' because he was convinced of the Sunni 'aqeedah; hence he strove to support and respect the caliph. The caliph reciprocated these feelings by sending to Noor ad-Deen the cloaks and symbols of authority and encouraging the emirs in the provinces to support him against the Crusaders.[1079] Hence Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen started on good terms with the Abbasid caliphate when he was the vizier of the Fatimid caliph al-'Âdid in 567 AH/1171 CE. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen took an important step in his relationship with the Abbasids when he stopped Friday sermons in the name of the Fatimid caliph and established these sermons on the pulpits of Egypt in the name of the Abbasid caliph, as an expression of his obedience and loyalty to the Abbasid caliph.[1080]

When Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood died and the Crusaders took advantage of the chaotic situation in Syria and attacked, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sent word to the Abbasid caliph, telling him of the political situation in Syria and the attack of the Crusaders on Muslim lands. He also told him of his efforts to put an end to the Fatimid caliphate in Egypt, restoring Friday sermons in the name of the Abbasids, standing up to the Crusaders when they attacked Alexandria, and the reasons why he had annexed Yemen. After this lengthy letter in which he listed his achievements which confirmed his support and loyalty to the Abbasid caliph, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen requested the caliph to bestow official authority upon him, including Egypt, the Maghreb, Yemen, Syria and in all the lands that were ruled by Noor ad-Deen.

> ...and in all the lands that Allah may grant in conquest to the Abbasid state by our swords and those of our troops. Anyone whom we appoint as our successors, brother or son, will also be guaranteed the same from the Abbasids, that this blessing will continue and their authority will be reinforced.[1081]

This letter from Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, and its consequences, contributed to the building of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's state. The caliph responded to his request and bestowed upon him the rule of Egypt and Syria. The Abbasid caliph saw in him the character that would be necessary in the person who would fill the gap left by Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood after he died. This prompted him to acknowledge Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's authority because he had become, in his view, the only person who could defend the Muslims.

This bestowal of authority, in addition to other factors — such as the caliphate's sending him the symbols of authority and recognition whilst he was besieging Hamah in 570 AH/1174 CE — played a role in increasing Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's stature in the eyes of the Muslim emirs, and those of the Crusaders, who began to be worried about his ascent. This good relationship with the Abbasid caliphate benefitted Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in his conflict with the Muslim emirs who were opposed to him and who had ambitions of gaining power, especially the Zangids. Hence he always kept the caliphs informed of his achievements and victories, and explained the motive behind his success as being his enthusiasm for the caliphate and his loyalty and sense of belonging to it, and his support for its continued existence.[1082] The relationship (between Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and the Abbasid caliphate) at the time of the caliph al-Mustadi' was particularly strong.

Death of the caliph al-Mustadi' bi Amr-Illâh 575 AH

Abu Muhammad al-Ḥasan ibn al-Mustanjid Billah Yoosuf ibn al-Muqtafi Muhammad ibn al-Mustazhir Aḥmad ibn al-Muqtadi al-Hâshimi al-'Abbâsi became caliph upon the death of his father in Rabee' I 566 AH. The swearing of allegiance to him was arranged by

'Adud ad-Deen Abul-Faraj, the son of the 'chief of chiefs', who appointed him as vizier on that day. He was a man of forbearance, deliberation, compassion, kindness and charity. Ibn al-Jawzi noted in *Al-Muntadham fee Târeekh al-Umam*:

> Allegiance was sworn to him, and there was a call for abolition of levies and restoration of rights. He showed justice and generosity such as we had never seen in our lifetimes, and he distributed a great amount of wealth to the Hâshimis.[1083]

Ibn al-Jawzi explained:

> During his caliphate the 'Ubaydi state in Egypt fell; Friday sermons were given in his name there and much good was done. The markets were closed for the celebration and tents were set up. I wrote a book called *An-Naṣr 'alâ Miṣr* (Victory over Egypt) and presented it to al-Imam al-Mustadi'.[1084]

Friday sermons were given in his name in Yemen, Barqah, Tawzar and the land of the Turks and kings submitted to his authority. He would summon Ibn al-Jawzi and tell him to preach so that he could hear him; he was inclined towards the Hanbali madhhab. By means of his authority, Shiism was weakened in Baghdad and Egypt, the Sunnah prevailed and there was security.[1085]

Al-Mustadi's sickness began at the end of Shawwâl 575 AH; his wife wanted to conceal it but could not manage to do so, and there was great turmoil in Baghdad in which the masses looted and plundered a great deal of wealth. On Friday 22nd Shawwâl, the khutbah was given in the name of the heir Abul-'Abbâs Aḥmad ibn al-Mustadi', who became known as the caliph an-Nâṣir li Deen-Illâh. It was a great day on which gold was given to the khateebs and muezzins and those who were present when his name was mentioned on the minbar. His sickness with a fever began on the day of Eid al-Fitr, and continued to worsen until he had been ill for a month, and he died at the end of Shawwâl, at the age of thirty-nine.

His caliphate lasted for nine years, three months and seventeen days. The caliph's body was washed and the funeral prayer was offered for him the next day; he was buried in Dâr an-Naṣr which he had built, in accordance with his last wishes. He left behind two sons, the first of whom was his heir Abul-'Abbâs Aḥmad an-Nâṣir li Deen-Illâh; the second was Abu Manṣoor Hâshim, for whom many prominent people worked as vizier. Al-Mustadi' had been one of the best caliphs, who enjoined what is good and forbade what is evil, relieved the people of levies and taxes, and protected them from innovations and evildoing; he was forbearing, dignified and noble. May Allah be pleased with him and bless him and make Paradise his abode.

Allegiance was sworn to his son an-Nâṣir who became caliph after him.[1086]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's relationship with the Abbasid caliphate after al-Mustadi'

The Abbasid caliph al-Mustadi' Billâh died and was succeeded by his son Abul-'Abbâs Aḥmad, who took the title of an-Nâṣir li Deen-Illâh. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen swore allegiance to him and sent an envoy to Baghdad to offer condolences on the death of his father and to congratulate him on the occasion of his accession to the caliphate.[1087]

During this same period, Sayf ad-Deen Ghazi I, ruler of Mosul, also died and was succeeded by his brother 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood I. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen wrote to the caliph asking him to keep his authority as it had been during his father's days.[1088]

An-Nâṣir li Deen-Illâh responded to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's request and sent Shaykh ash-Shuyookh Ṣadr ad-Deen Abul-Qâsim 'Abd ar-

Raḥmân Shihâb ad-Deen Basheer al-Khâdim with the new appointment and confirmation, in Rajab/December, and gave him beautiful titles such as al-Malik al-Ajall as-Sayyid (Most Majestic Patron Lord), Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, Nâṣir al-Islâm (Saviour of Islam), 'Imâd ad-Dawlah (Pillar of the State), Fakhr al-Millah (Pride of the People), Ṣafiyy al-Khilâfah (Purifier of the Caliphate), Tâj al-Mulook was-Salâṭeen (Crown of Kings and Sultans), Qâmi' al-Kufrati wal-Mushrikeen (Resister against Unbelievers and Polytheists), Qâhir al-Khawârij wal-Murtaddeen 'an al-Mujâhideen (Powerful against the Heretics, for the Mujahidin), Al Ghâzi Yoosuf ibn Ayub, may Allah keep him held in high esteem.[1089] He commanded him to fear Allah and adhere to regular prayer, to join prayers in congregation and frequent the mosque, to keep away from ḥarâm things, to treat people with kindness and justice, guard the borders, to strive in jihad against non-Muslim enemies and to rely on religiously committed and decent people in running the affairs of the country. Then he reminded him of the obligation to show gratitude to the caliphate for the support and respect it had bestowed upon him.[1090]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was reassured by the caliph's support and his letter was well received. He wrote back to him saying: Your servant says:

> Praise be to Allah as much as the good deeds in Islam. The Abbasid state could not continue with the support of a man like Abu Muslim in the early days who showed support then turned away, and not by a man who came recently like Tughrul Beg, who also showed support then turned away. Your servant disavowed himself from anyone who disputed with the caliph...he broke the idols of the *Bâṭiniyah* with his sword.[1091]

Sermons were given in his name in all the lands belonging to him, and on all special occasions the sermon-givers wore the symbols of the Abbasid state and flew its black flags.[1092]

In return, the caliph refused to give the black cloaks and turbans to any emir who came under Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's rule, out of respect and appreciation for him, and so as to distinguish him from others. For example, in 578 AH/1182 CE, he refused to give the emir Jamâl ad-Deen Khoshtareen, who had fled from Mosul and wanted to join Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, a black cloak and turban when he requested that.[1093] This is indicative of the caliph's desire to maintain a good relationship with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.[1094] Nevertheless, the Abbasid caliph did not give him authority over the province of Mosul, although Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had sent a number of letters to Baghdad explaining that he needed to gain authority over the emirate of Mosul. This request was not met, despite the fact that he was given authority over the emirate of Âmid in Diyarbakir.[1095] Mosul was regarded as very close to the borders of the caliphate, which may have provoked the caliph's fears. The historians say that the reason Caliph an-Nâṣir did not give him authority over Mosul may have been that he was worried by the expansion of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's power to lands that were close to the caliphate, such as Mosul and Mesopotamia.

During Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's conflict with Sayf ad-Deen Ghazi, the ruler of Mosul, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen responded to the caliph's wishes and withdrew from Sinjar. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen overlooked this attitude with a gentle remark to the caliph, but he continued to obey him, correspond with him and inform him of his achievements and actions one by one, especially the battle of Hattin, and he addressed him saying, "Your servant announces the news of this great victory..."[1096] The caliph trusted Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and expressed his appreciation for his sincerity in the form of gifts that he sent to him after the conquest of Jerusalem. Among these gifts was a plaque on which were engraved some Qur'anic verses, which was to be placed above the gate of Jerusalem; also engraved upon it was the following:

> This victory was achieved at the hands of the reviver of his state and the sword of his victory, the one who is obedient to him and sincere in his devotion, the mujâhid who fights under his banner, Yoosuf ibn Ayub, the supporter of Ameer al-Mu'mineen.[1097]

Rumour-mongers tried to cause trouble between the caliph and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi after the battle of Hattin;[1098] this will be discussed in the appropriate place below, in shâ' Allâh.

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's relationship with the Byzantine state

The Emperor Manuel Komnenos was one of the most hostile towards Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and the Muslims. He was an ally of the Crusaders, but when Andronikos Komnenos became Emperor in 578 AH/1182 CE, things changed; he formed a strong relationship with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, based on the common interests that they shared. His main enemies were the Seljuks, who had destroyed the Byzantine army in the battle of Myriokephalon at the end of 571 AH/1176 CE. The Byzantines also despised the Latin Crusaders and the Italians because of their domination of Byzantine affairs and economy which made Andronikos Komnenos draw closer to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. This rapprochement was aimed at preserving their common interests against the Latin Crusaders in general and the Seljuks in particular. Western Europe regarded this close relationship as a violation of the religious ties between them and the Byzantines and a breaking of all traditions, because wars between the Islamic and Byzantine sides had been almost continual since the emergence of Islam. Despite this, Andronikos Komnenos and his successor Isaac II Angelos changed this policy and established ties with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, the greatest enemy of the Crusaders; in fact, they both tried hard to destroy the

Crusader principalities in the east.[1099] That was preceded by a personal rapprochement when Andronikos Komnenos was banished after his dismissal as ruler of Cilicia in 1168 CE. He fled to Damascus, where he was received kindly by Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood. Andronikos Komnenos laid the foundations for this relationship when he sent his envoy to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in 581 AH/ 1185 CE, offering to form an alliance with him on several issues, the most important of which were:

- Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was to show loyalty and support to Andronikos Komnenos as emperor
- Both sides were to cooperate against the Seljuks, and once Asia Minor was captured from the Seljuks it was to be added to the Empire's possessions
- Andronikos Komnenos promised to help Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in his conflict against the Crusaders in Syria.

Before Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen could even respond to these conditions, however, Andronikos Komnenos was deposed and killed in Jumâda II 581 AH/September 1185 CE, and Isaac II Angelos became emperor (1185-1195 CE).[1100]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen wanted to continue friendly relations with the Emperor Isaac II Angelos, in response to the latter's wish, as he thought it essential to maintain this relationship in order to confront his enemies, namely the Normans in Sicily, who were threatening the capital of Constantinople, the Crusaders in Syria and the Seljuks in Asia Minor. So he confirmed the previous deal with Andronikos Komnenos after Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen modified some of the conditions in a way that suited his strength and position, and could not be matched by the declining power of the Byzantines.[1101]

This agreement angered the Crusaders in the East, and Raymond, the Count of Tripoli, resorted to capturing Alexius and putting him in prison. Alexius, the Emperor's brother, had been travelling from Damascus to Constantinople and was still a guest of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, when he was passing through Acre in 582 AH/1186 CE. The Emperor Isaac sought the help of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and urged him to attack the Crusaders and put pressure on them to release his brother. The following year, the Emperor attacked the island of Cyprus so as to reduce the pressure on Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, but the Byzantine forces were subjected to defeat and the Byzantine fleet was destroyed. In the meantime, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen attacked the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, taking advantage of events in order to achieve his primary goal, which was to strike the Crusaders. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen managed to conquer Jerusalem and the coastal cities; he released Alexius, who returned to Constantinople.

After Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen defeated the Crusaders, he sent messengers to the Byzantine Emperor bearing gifts and telling him of the victories and successes that he had achieved. The emperor hosted Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's envoys in a palace in the centre of the capital, and renewed his alliance with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.[1102] The emperor sent a similar message and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen received the two Byzantine envoys in Dhul-Qa'dah 583 AH/1188 CE, a few days after lifting the siege on Tyre, in the presence of his sons, emirs and officials. In his letter, Isaac II Angelos praised Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen for his efforts to secure the release of his brother and expressed his gratitude. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen asked the envoys about the situation in the empire, and perhaps the most important news that this delegation brought was that there had been a call for a new Crusade in the west. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was already aware of this news; thus the sincerity of Isaac II became apparent. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sensed that Isaac II was very upset by this news, and he wanted some guarantee of help from Isaac II whilst the Crusader

campaign was crossing his land. since this was as the expected route for a land campaign from Europe. Hence when the two Byzantine envoys returned home, he sent with them envoys of his own to negotiate with the Emperor for a military alliance between the Ayubid and Byzantine states to confront the Crusader invasion. Among the gifts that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sent to Isaac II Angelos was a minbar to be set up in the mosque of Constantinople, with a request for him to ensure its maintenance and to keep Islamic rituals alive in the Byzantine capital. Likewise, Isaac II Angelos expressed his desire that care be taken of Greek rituals in the churches of Palestine.[1103] We will discuss the Ayubid-Byzantine relations during the Third Crusade in detail below, in shâ' Allah.

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's relationship with the Crusaders before Hattin

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen aimed to unite Egypt and Greater Syria in order to achieve victory over the Crusaders. At the same time, he realized that resisting and engaging the Crusaders could not wait until complete union was achieved. Hence he relied on a strategy of working on these two goals, the aim of unity and the aim of resisting the Crusaders, by making the most of any circumstances that might be helpful in resisting the Crusaders. In the midst of all that, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did not neglect to follow certain strategies, including the following:

He worked to increase fortifications in the areas under his control in Egypt and Syria, whether that was by increasing his military forces and paying attention to their two sections, on land and on sea, or by working on building fortresses and citadels that would give him and his forces better protection or make them lookout points where he could keep a watch on Crusader fortifications. So he paid attention to

fortifying Cairo, Alexandria and Damietta, and he built fortresses in Greater Syria such as the citadel of 'Ajloon. For the same reason he tried to gain control of the citadels and fortresses that were under Crusader control, and strove to prevent or block the Crusaders' efforts to build citadels and fortresses that could threaten Muslim areas.

He strove to form agreements with anyone who could affect the Crusaders' supply lines, and that would have a positive effect on the Islamic front economically and militarily. The focus in this regard was on the Italian merchant cities.

He even resorted to entering into truces with some of the Crusaders in order to be able to focus on fighting others, taking advantage of the Crusaders' situation and the disputes between them, especially that between the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the County of Tripoli. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen took advantage of these truces in order to focus on completing military fortifications or working to achieve complete unity, because circumstances did not allow him to fight on more than one front at the same time.[1104]

In order to achieve this, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen benefited from circumstances that favoured the interests of the Islamic front that was heading towards unity, at a time when the Crusader front was on the decline, according to the historian Robert Payne. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen also benefited from the spirit of jihad which began to take shape clearly from the time of 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi and his son Noor ad-Deen after him. When speaking of the battles that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi fought against the Crusaders during this period, we should realize that there were many battles in more than one location, but this stage did not reach the level of all-out war with the Crusaders.[1105] Several important battles were fought.

Crusader raids against Şalâḥ ad-Deen's possessions 570-572 AH

The first task that Raymond III set for himself as regent of Jerusalem was to stop the growth of Şalâḥ ad-Deen's power and prevent him from annexing Aleppo. Hence the Crusaders launched continuous raids on his possessions during the confrontation between him and the Zangids. These raids had little impact and were limited geographically, however, because the Crusaders themselves were in a state of turmoil.[1106] In Muharram 571 AH/1175 CE, the Crusader king Baldwin IV took advantage of the fact that Şalâḥ ad-Deen was distracted and had to cool things down in his conflict with the Crusaders in order to focus on fighting Sayf ad-Deen Ghazi, ruler of Mosul, so that he would not be fighting on two fronts at the same time, namely the Zangids in the north and east and the Crusaders in the south and west. Therefore he renewed the truce with the Kingdom of Jerusalem,[1107] but the Crusaders broke the truce in the following year, in the midst of the ongoing conflict between Şalâḥ ad-Deen and the Zangids. They attacked the lands that were under Şalâḥ ad-Deen's control and Raymond III, ruler of Tripoli, attacked the Bekaa region, at a time when the royal army marched from the south, led by the king and Humphrey of Toron. It seems that Raymond III was defeated by Ibn al-Muqaddim the emir of Baalbek, but the two Crusader armies joined together and confronted Shams ad-Dawlah Turanshah, Şalâḥ ad-Deen's brother and deputy in Damascus, at 'Anjar in the Bekaa; he had gone out to save Baalbek but this confrontation was not decisive. Hardly had Şalâḥ ad-Deen arrived from the north when the Crusaders withdrew from the area. He did not pursue them; he preferred to go back to Egypt, leaving his brother Turanshah in Damascus.[1108]

The Crusaders raid Homs and Hamah

Undoubtedly the Crusaders lost a golden opportunity to strike at Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in Egypt, at the time when he had not yet consolidated his position in northern Syria, because circumstances were ripe for them after the Byzantine Emperor had put all his efforts into making the campaign succeed. Time would tell that this opportunity was one that would never be repeated for the Crusaders after that.[1109] The joint Crusader-Byzantine venture against Egypt had failed, but that did not prevent the Crusaders from benefitting from the Dutch campaign against the Muslim lands that were controlled by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in Syria. On 4 Rabee' I 572 AH/11 September 1176 CE, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen left Syria for Egypt, after making a peace deal with al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ismâ'eel, ruler of Aleppo.[1110] Baldwin IV took advantage of this opportunity, and repeated his request to Phillip of Alsace to attack the Muslim forces that were concentrated on the eastern borders of the principalities of Edessa and Tripoli. The latter agreed to his request; he left Jerusalem in Rabee' II 573 AH/end of October 1177 CE, heading north to help Raymond III, Count of Tripoli, and Bohemond III, Prince of Antioch, based on their request, as they viewed it possible to achieve something in the absence of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.

The king supplied one hundred knights and two thousand foot soldiers.[1111] One detachment of the army raided Homs, but was ambushed and lost all the booty it had acquired. In the meantime, Phillip and Raymond III, with their forces, raided Hamah, which almost fell, were it not that the Muslims stood firm in defending it and repelled them, frustrated, after a siege that lasted for four days without achieving anything.[1112] It seems that the drought which affected the area in that year was one of the reasons for this raid. In the letter which was written by al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil to be sent to

Baghdad, and signed by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, there is an indication to that effect: The disbelievers came out to Syria, breaking the deal that they had agreed to, and committing an act of blatant treachery, thinking that they would be able to finish off Syria because it was suffering from drought, and they besieged Hamah on Monday, 21 Jumâda I.[1113]

Raid on Hârim

Hârim was a city located east of the Orontes, twelve miles from Antioch. The Prince of Antioch, Bohemond III, asked Phillip of Alsace to launch an attack against the city of Hârim, and promised to help him. So Phillip headed towards Hârim, accompanied by Raymond III. At that time Hârim was under the rule of Gumushtigin, the former atabeg of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣaliḥ Ismâ'eel. It was in a state of internal turmoil because its people supported Gumushtigin, who was engaged in a dispute with al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ismâ'eel.[1114]

Hârim was besieged by the Crusaders at the beginning of Jumâda II/November, whereupon the people of Hârim forgot about their differences and resisted the siege, which lasted for four months; their resistance was courageous. At the same time, the people of Aleppo started to launch raids on nearby Crusader lands. Aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ismâ'eel sent a detachment which penetrated the Crusader lines and joined the city garrison in Hârim.[1115] At this time, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen set out from Egypt to attack the Kingdom of Jerusalem which had no one to defend it, and the Crusaders were afraid that the Aleppans would seek his help. They also decided to help the Kingdom of Jerusalem, but al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ismâ'eel negotiated for a lifting of the siege in return for payment of a sum of money. He also warned them that he would hand the city over to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, so the Crusaders ended their siege and failed to capture the city.[1116]

The Battle of Ramlah

This battle was a bitter experience for Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, but perhaps he learned from it that it was a mistake to take on the Crusaders before achieving unity among the Muslims. By unifying the Muslims, he would gain access to a huge power that was willing to make sacrifices in order to destroy the potential enemy force, in addition to the fact that he would be able to move his army within a large area. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had annexed a significant part of Greater Syria into his state, along with Egypt, since he headed to Damascus in 570 AH/1174 CE, he had then annexed Homs, Hamah and Hârim; nevertheless, there was still a large area that lay beyond his authority.[1117]

After Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen returned to Egypt in 572 AH/1176 CE, he decided to launch a campaign against the Crusaders. He set out from Cairo with twenty thousand warriors[1118] in Jumâda I 573 AH/ November 1177 CE and camped at the Egyptian city of Bilbeis, ten parasangs from the city of Fustat on the road to Syria.[1119] Then he headed towards the southern part of Palestine and camped at Ascalon, which was under Crusader occupation; there he managed to capture some Crusaders and issued orders that they be executed.[1120]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did not encounter any resistance worth mentioning from the enemy, so his troops went about freely, raiding villages and collecting booty. Then Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen gathered some of his troops and advanced with them towards the town of Ramlah, near the coast, which was one of the largest cities of Palestine at that time.[1121] They were faced with the river of Tell as-Ṣâfiyah, so they spread out looking for a suitable place to cross it. Whilst they were doing so, a force of Crusaders attacked them before they could organize themselves. It seems that the Crusaders had been watching their movements and took them by surprise at the right time. Their

leader was the infamous Reynald de Châtillon, who was supported in his mission by Baldwin III, King of Jerusalem.[1122] At that moment there was no one with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen except a few of his emirs and troops, because most of them had gone off in pursuit of booty.[1123]

The confrontations began and the troops of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen gathered, and fought the Crusaders. Some of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's commanders and close companions did well, especially Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar and his son Aḥmad, and Diya' 'Eesâ al-Ḥakâri and his brother Dhaheer ad-Deen. They were taken captive and remained in captivity for two years, then Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen ransomed al-Faqeeh 'Eesâ for sixty thousand dinars.[1124] Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar went forward and began to fight courageously before his uncle and killed a number of Crusaders. Then his son Aḥmad went forward and showed a great deal of courage, killing a number of the enemy, and returned to his father. His father told him to go back again, saying to him, "Go back, Aḥmad, for going back (into battle) is good." So he went back and fought them and was martyred.[1125]

Despite their bravery the Muslims could not withstand the attack. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen spoke of the defeat, and how the change in the position of the troops and the flanks of the army led to this regrettable outcome:

> At the time when the enemy came close, some soldiers thought that the right flank should move to the left and the left flank to the core, so that the hill in Ramlah would be behind them and not in front of them; whilst they were busy doing this, the enemy attacked them.[1126]

Reasons for the defeat in the Battle of Ramlah

There were several factors that led to the defeat of the Ayubid forces in this battle:

- o The Crusaders surprised the Ayubid army at the right time, whilst they were dispersed and before they could organize themselves.
- o This surprise attack led to confusion in the ranks and flanks of the Ayubid army, and the scattering of their commanders, so they resorted to individual combat which was of no benefit in that situation.
- o Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen disappeared from sight until it was thought that he had been killed.
- o The Ayubid army was far from its supply lines and cut off from supplies and water.[1127]

What confirms the extent of this great loss that befell the Ayubid army in this battle was what the historians said about this defeat: It was a setback which Allah compensated only with the battle of Hattin.[1128] In this battle, most of those who were with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen were killed, wounded or captured,[1129] but amazingly he emerged unscathed. After the defeat was complete, one of the Crusaders charged at him and got so close that he almost reached him, but the Crusader was killed in front of him.

The Franks piled up against Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and he fled, marching a little then pausing, so that his troops could catch up with him, until night fell. He travelled by land and continued with a small group until he reached Egypt. They met with a great deal of hardship along the way: they began to run out of food and water, and their mounts died from hunger, thirst and being ridden too fast.[1130]

On the way to Egypt, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen vanished from sight, which created fear in the ranks. Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil set out with some of his companions to look for him, and he sent them into the middle of the desert until they found him and helped him with the supplies that they were carrying, then the caravan reached Cairo in the middle of

Jumâda II 573 AH/December 1175 CE.[1131] But news of his being safe and sound had reached Cairo on fast camels[1132] before he himself arrived, so as to put a stop to anyone who might be thinking of rebelling against his rule, especially the supporters of the Fatimids. In order to confirm that he was still alive, when he arrived in Cairo, carrier pigeons carried the good news to all parts of Egypt, to put people's minds at rest.[1133]

The battle of Ramlah was a hard experience for Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen; he apparently learned a great deal from it in later confrontations, as it was the first and last major defeat for him and his forces at the hands of the Crusader commanders. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen realized another fact that had to do with this battle front against the Crusaders, which was that the supply lines between his base in Cairo and the plains of Palestine were too long, there was too much difficulty involved in maintaining them, and there was too little water and vegetation there. This fact was well known to him, his emirs and al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil, as mentioned in the letter that he had sent to the caliphate three years previously, when he asked to be given official authority in all of Greater Syria in addition to Egypt:[1134]

> We will not be able to prevail over the enemy from Egypt with this great distance and the lack of cities; the mounts on which we rely for jihad will be exhausted. (On the other hand,) if we stay there, there is a clear interest that will be served by that and the benefit will be immense. There is enough power and the country is close by; launching campaigns will be possible, supplies will be simple, the horses will be rested, the troops will be great in number and opportunities will be available.[1135]

The battle of Ramlah confirmed the soundness of this way of thinking, and from that time Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen decided to move his permanent base, after rebuilding his military and political strength, to Damascus. Its military forces, some of which he had inherited from

Noor ad-Deen, and its emirs, like his, had lengthy experience in confronting the Crusader forces and had better knowledge of the local geography, in addition to having short communications and supply lines, in contrast to the length of these lines for the enemy. As the basic aim of his military operations in the future was to liberate Jerusalem and recapture the lands which were under Crusader domination, Damascus was the most suitable main base for such operations. Hence Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen made it his permanent base and did not leave it for Egypt except to check on the situation in the latter.[1136]

The battle of Tell al-Qâḍi

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen remained in Egypt for a few months after the battle of Ramlah, until he was certain that everything was under his control, then he left and headed for Damascus, where he arrived on Saturday 24 Shawwâl 574 AH/April 1179, and he stayed there for the rest of that year. All the battles that occurred during that time were no more than a few raids and repelling a few attacks. In fact, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was fully focused on the siege of Baalbek, after its ruler Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Mâlik, who was known as Ibn al-Muqaddim, refused to give it up to Ṣâliḥ Turanshah, the brother of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. All the while, he did not ignore the fortress of Makhâdat al-Ahzân, and he told his emirs that if the Crusaders finished building it, "we will besiege it and destroy it, down to its foundations."[1137] After he had finished with Baalbek, he turned his attention to the fortress and asked the Crusaders to knock it down; in return, they asked him to pay them the costs they had incurred in building it. He offered them sixty thousand dinars, then he raised it to one hundred thousand, but they rejected this offer.[1138]

It so happened that in Dhul-Qa'dah 574 AH/April 1179 CE, Baldwin IV attacked some Muslim shepherds who had gone out to

graze their flocks in the fields near Baniyas, and Humphrey of Toron joined him in that. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sent a military force, led by his nephew 'Izz ad-Deen Farookh Shah to find out what had happened, and they engaged with the enemy near Shaqeef Arnoon[1139] and defeated him; the king was only able to escape due to the courage of Humphrey, who was wounded in the battle, and died afterwards as the result of his wounds. His death was a great loss for the Crusaders.[1140]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had left Damascus when he heard news of the victory, and went to lay siege to the fortress of al-Ahzân, but he limited his action to attacking its garrison, because it was so strongly fortified that he had to lift the siege after a few days. At that point al-Qâḍi camped in the plain of Marja'ayoon, west of Baniyas, and sent the troops to raid the Galilee and Lebanon, and destroy the crops in the lands between Tyre[1141] and Beirut. These raids angered Baldwin IV, who thought that he should put a stop to them, so he gathered his forces and set out to confront the Muslims, calling Raymond III of Tripoli to help him. He knew that Farrookh Shah was coming back from the coast with a great deal of booty, so he moved northwards to intercept him in the valley of Marja'ayoon, between the Litani River and the upper part of the Jordan. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen saw his movements, but whilst the Crusader king was engaged with Farookh Shah, Raymond III and the Templars were coming towards the Jordan River, and at the entrance to the valley they caught Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen unawares. The Templars immediately hastened to engage in fighting, but Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen stood firm in battle, and the military plans that he had implemented gave him the opportunity to launch a counter-attack and achieve victory. The Crusaders turned tail and fled, not caring about anything. When they reached the royal army, panic spread through the ranks and they were compelled to go back, then they began to flee. Many of them were taken captive, including Odo de

Saint Amand, the Grand Master of the Templars, Baldwin, ruler of Ramlah, and Hugh the Count of the Galilee.[1142]

The battle occurred at the beginning of 575 AH/summer 1179 CE, but Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen did not try to capitalize on this victory by attacking Jerusalem, because he believed that the Crusader king, who was still free, would be able to summon troops from different regions and they would rally around him. This would make his mission more difficult, especially since a group of French knights had arrived in the kingdom at that point on a pilgrimage, led by Henry II of Champagne, which renewed the Crusaders' hopes and raised their morale.[1143] Instead of attacking Jerusalem, he attacked the fortress of al-Ahzân in Rabee' I/April, and after a siege lasting five days, he managed to breach its walls and destroy it completely, levelling it to the ground. He also raided the coastal areas: Tyre, Sidon and Beirut, and his fleet attacked the city of Acre and destroyed the ships that were moored there.[1144]

Truce between Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and Baldwin IV

The Crusader losses increased, and Baldwin IV was very upset by the Muslim victories, but he had no choice but to ask for a truce. Indeed, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen responded to Baldwin's request for a truce between them for his own reasons:

- He wanted to annex Aleppo under his authority, before directing a decisive blow against the Crusaders; at the same time, he wanted to protect himself from Crusader attacks whilst he was attacking Aleppo.
- He also wanted to launch an attack against Armenia.

- o He wanted to build a relationship with Kilij Arslan II, Sultan of the Seljuks of Rum, so that he could get him on his side or at least ensure that he was neutral between him and the Crusaders.
- o He wanted to focus on attacking the Principality of Tripoli. News had reached him that there had been contact between the Crusaders and the Byzantines, aimed at forming a new alliance between them. The Byzantine fleet had attacked Tartous (Tortosa), which was a town on the Syrian coast, on the outer edge of the environs of Damascus.[1145] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen conquered an island in the sea nearby called Arwâd (Ruad), so Raymond was forced to make a truce with him, and asked to join him and become one of his allies, because of his dispute with the Kingdom of Jerusalem which had led to him being deposed and expelled.[1146]

As for Baldwin, he was exhausted, as were his troops, because of their many confrontations with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. Hence he wanted a truce because he needed to reorganize his troops and find new allies. The period of the truce between them was set at two years, and it seems that during the period leading up to the truce Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen had aimed at raiding the Crusaders in order to lead to a truce, to buy him time to build up and strengthen the Muslim ranks.[1147]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and the 'thief knight', Reynald de Châtillon

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen benefited from the truce which he signed with the ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and moved his military activities to areas confronting the Crusaders in northern Syria. There

were some successful sea raids against the Principality of Tripoli, which led to the Crusaders, under the leadership of Raymond III, making a truce with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen that lasted for five years (1180-1185 CE).[1148] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen benefited from his military and political achievements by focusing on his main goal, which was to unite Syria. He started his campaigns — which we have referred to — against the region of Mosul and followed that with the siege of Aleppo and gaining control of that city. Whilst Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's forces were besieging Aleppo, the Muslim forces in Egypt were carrying out successful military operations on the southern front in the region of Darum (between Gaza and Egypt). These battles in general proved that the most the Crusader front could do in this location was defend some of the areas under its control, and it lost the ability to attack, when compared with its situation before the emergence of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi. The exception to that was the raids carried out by the Crusader ruler of Kerak, Reynald of Châtillon, who was regarded as coming under the authority of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.[1149] Reynald was known as the 'thief knight' even to the Franks, because he was not one of the type of knights who cared for their honour and adhered to the principles of knighthood; he was good for nothing but plunder, robbery, treachery and launching raids against innocent Muslims. Some European historians described him as an example of the thief knight of his era; he was a man of greed, treachery, savagery and blind fanaticism. The fifteen years that he spent as a prisoner in Aleppo did not alter his behaviour or discipline him.[1150] The historian Abu Shâmah described him as the most treacherous, most evil and vilest and basest of the Franks; the one most likely to break confirmed covenants and vows.[1151]

Reynald ignored the truce that had been made between Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and set out at the head of his forces, penetrating deep into the Arabian desert, as far as Tayma'.[1152]

His intention was to march from Tayma' to Madinah, to capture the holy places.[1153] But Farakh Shah, the nephew of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and his deputy in Damascus, hastened to launch a campaign in Jordan and the environs of Kerak, and plundered the region. Reynald returned to his principality to defend it, but not before plundering a large Muslim caravan which was heading from Damascus to Makkah and robbing it of a large amount of wealth.[1154] Hence Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen got angry and sent word to the King of Jerusalem, blaming him for what had happened and reminding him of the truce between them, and demanding that he force Reynald to return what he had plundered. King Baldwin IV was very annoyed with Reynald too, so he sent word demanding that he return what he had plundered from the Muslims and release their prisoners, but Reynald mocked his master — the ailing king — and refused to heed his orders.[1155]

Reynald's campaigns were not in the Crusaders' interests with regard to timing, as they came at a time when Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's strength was increasing, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem and other Crusader principalities were suffering from chronic internal problems with no solution. Seeds of doubt were sprouting between the ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Baldwin IV, and Bohemond III, ruler of Antioch, and Raymond III, ruler of Tripoli. In addition to that, these attacks came at a time when the Kingdom of Jerusalem was faced with problems concerning the health of Baldwin IV and the issue of succession. On the external front, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's relationship with the Italian cities and with the ruler of the Byzantine Empire, Alexius Komnenos II, was growing stronger. Moreover, these campaigns of Reynald's served to confirm the failure of the Kingdom of Jerusalem to control the lands belonging to it, as Reynald was supposed to be under the authority of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, yet he did not adhere to the truce between the kingdom and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. In addition to that, Reynald's campaigns and the threat they posed to the holy places had a positive impact on the Islamic front, as this conduct

on Reynald's part made the allied Muslim forces in Greater Syria and Mesopotamia stand with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.[1156]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen began to focus on punishing Reynald for his criminal activities against the merchant and pilgrim caravans. He set out to besiege Kerak more than once, in 580 AH/1184 CE, and 583 AH/1187 CE, as well as carrying out Muslim military operations on the northern front in the region of Tiberias in 583 AH/1187 CE. These developments took place when the Islamic front was now united after the treaty was signed with the ruler of Mosul, and the Crusader front had been suffering from internal problems which worsened after the death of Baldwin IV and assumption of power by Baldwin V in 1185 CE. He died one year later, as the result of which the Kingdom of Jerusalem entered a period of conflict over the succession to the throne, in which the Count of Tripoli, Raymond III, took part. Suspicions arose concerning the death of Baldwin V: was it a natural death or had those who harboured ambitions for the crown of the Kingdom of Jerusalem been behind this death? It was suggested that he had died as a result of being poisoned.[1157] The matter reached such a point that the Crusaders formed two opposing camps concerning the issue of who should inherit the throne of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. One group supported Guy of Lusignan and his rule of Jerusalem; another group opposed his rule and was led by Raymond III of Tripoli and Bohemond III of Antioch.[1158] In this confusing internal situation on the Crusader front, which contrasted with the unity and strength on the Muslim side, the ruler of Kerak, Reynald, stirred up trouble with the Muslims. He went back to his old ways of not adhering to truces and covenants; he attacked a merchant caravan that was travelling between Damascus and Cairo, plundered what it was carrying and took the merchants and guards captive. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen failed to persuade Reynald to hand over the prisoners or return the plunder; similarly, the efforts of the King of Jerusalem to force Reynald to hand over what he had plundered from the caravan

and to release the captives were unsuccessful. This led to a strong Muslim reaction on the part of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, which led to the battle of Hattin and its consequences, which we will discuss below in shâ' Allah.[1159]

Lessons from the period between the death of Noor ad-Deen and the Battle of Hattin

The long struggle to unite the Muslim front

After twelve years of bitter struggle, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen became master of Egypt, Syria, Mosul and other Muslim lands, and brought together under his control all the Muslim military forces, willingly in most cases and reluctantly in a few others. His method of establishing a united front was based on his (direct) leadership in a number of matters, as well as relying on the Ayubid military institution that he had founded.[1160]

(a) He used to issue decrees granting security to all those who surrendered without fighting, on condition that the troops would be one at times of mobilization against the external enemy, as happened in Hasankeyf, for example.[1161]

(b) Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen used to send with arrows pieces of cloth on which were written encouraging and warning phrases into the resisting fortresses, to force their people to seek surrender, after creating psychological turmoil in their ranks.

(c) Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would demonstrate to the strongly fortified city that he had come to live nearby and that he was intending to settle in the vicinity, after besieging it without launching a direct attack on it. This prompted those inside the fortress or city to ask for security or

strive to reach a peace deal so as to make Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's huge forces move away from the city, because if they stayed, they would cause a great deal of harm. This is what happened at the third siege of Mosul in 581 AH.[1162]

(d) In some cases, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen offered concessions and gave large amounts of money to the emirs of some fortresses as a way of taking over their fortresses without fighting, as happened when he besieged the fortress of Hârim and Mayafariqin.[1163]

(e) In other cases, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen resorted to political means. He formed alliances with some emirs to weaken his opponent and force him to seek terms of surrender. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen used this method when he formed an alliance with 'Imâd ad-Deen, the emir of Sinjar aimed at weakening 'Izz ad-Deen Mas'ood, the emir of Mosul.[1164] By means of these methods, and by resorting to warfare in some other cases, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was able to achieve unity and make preparations to begin the liberation stage.[1165]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's efforts to unite the Muslims

The general characteristics of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's efforts to unite the Muslims included the following:

(a) Generosity with wealth, which he regarded as insignificant. This is clearly seen in the large amounts that he gave to his followers, to the delegations who came to see him, and to those who surrendered to his rule, or to whom he promised to give; his letting off the countries he conquered of all past debts and taxes, and abolishing the levies and unjust taxes, apart from the taxes that are permitted in sharia. Undoubtedly this played a role in attracting people to join his ranks and silencing his opponents.

(b) His tolerant attitude. He fought those who opposed him in order to form a united front. When he defeated them, he did not allow anyone to pursue them or to kill their wounded; he released their prisoners and sometimes showed tolerance towards those he knew were his enemies. He did not show any animosity towards them. He overlooked their aggression, even though he was well aware of it, because he wanted them to become his allies after being his opponents.

(c) His deep Islamic faith. This was not only represented in his acts of worship but also in his belief that jihad was an obligation, first for himself and also for others, so he did not accept anything but urging them to engage in it.

(d) Leaving emirates under the control of their emirs, or giving them to his commanders and those who were close to him, or even to his opponents on occasion, because after he took control of Egypt, he only needed rulers to supply him with troops when called upon. This is what explains his compromises and diplomatic negotiations and his granting security to those who opposed him.

(e) Among the Zangid family in particular and the other emirs of Noor ad-Deen in general, there did not appear any person other than him who had the strength and ability to maintain the principles according to which Noor ad-Deen and his father before him had operated.

(f) As well as trying to win the support of the Muslim masses, he also sought to win the approval of the Abbasid caliph who he still believed was the source of spiritual legitimacy for all Muslims. He sent him letters one after another concerning different situations, sometimes explaining them, and sometimes accusing his opponents, or asking permission, or giving glad tidings, but never stopping. From all of that we may understand that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's strength was the result of the strong bond between him and the Muslim

masses through his deeds and jihad, and his standing by and defending the masses' demands, by defending their religion and beliefs and confronting the invaders. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen fought with some Muslim rulers, but he only fought them because of their selfishness and focus on their own personal interests and authority. He spent twelve years (570-582 AH/1174-1186 CE) establishing a united Islamic front; throughout this period, his ambitions were much greater than his physical strength as he was sick. He was a military giant but a mass of physical illnesses, but his love of jihad made him forget his pain and overlook it.[1166]

Two who strove for unity and liberation

From the events we have discussed, we can easily see that the character of Noor ad-Deen and the character of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen complemented one another in their efforts to unite the Ummah in jihad and liberation. Allah enabled them to do that, and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen (may Allah have mercy on him), who was one of the commanders and emirs of Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood, came to complete Noor ad-Deen's plan to unite the Muslim Ummah in faith and loyalty towards Allah and His Messenger and those who believe, and in disavowal of the enemies of Allah and His Messenger and the Muslims, and to fight the Crusaders and expel them from the Muslim lands. He revived the Ummah in terms of knowledge, sharia and jihad; he established the system of Qur'anically prescribed punishments, retaliatory sanctions and disciplinary punishments, and put an end to injustice and corruption. Then after he had made preparations and united the Ummah, he embarked on jihad in Syria, Egypt, the Hijaz, Iraq and Yemen, to attack and expel the Franks from the Muslim lands. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi (may Allah be pleased with him) stated that he acquired a great deal of the character

and attitude of Noor ad-Deen, especially his justice in ruling and his jihad. He said concerning the justice of Noor ad-Deen and how he adopted that from him, commenting on the fairness of Noor ad-Deen towards the one who mistreated him: That is the right thing and any act of justice you see on our part, we learned from him.[1167] Abu Shâmah said concerning the complementary nature of the two characters: By Allah, how good these two kings were; they came one after the other with good conduct and pure hearts. One was Ḥanafi and the other Shâfa'i; may Allah heal by means of them everyone who is ailing. Noor ad-Deen was the root of all that goodness; by means of his justice and sheer character he established security throughout his land, despite the prevalence of evil and injustice, and he gained control of the lands that he needed to be able to continue his jihad. Thus it became easier for the one who succeeded him to complete the course. But Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's achievements in jihad were greater; he reached more lands and showed patience and perseverance, and Allah kept for him the greater victory, namely the conquest of the Holy Land. May Allah be pleased with them both. As the poet said: how much the former left for the latter to do.[1168] 'Imâd ad-Deen al-Kâtib said of Noor ad-Deen and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen: They renewed Islam after it had declined, and strengthened it after it had grown weak, then Allah supported Islam after they were gone with al-Malik adh-Dhâhir Rukn ad-Deen.[1169]

Uniting the Ummah by force

Events showed that the Muslims, at the beginning of the Crusades, were divided; they were a collection of conflicting states and warring emirates. Then Noor ad-Deen Zangi came and united the Ummah in jihad and by highlighting the sharia evidence that they should be united, cling to the rope of Allah, and come together to

fight the Crusaders so as to purify the holy places. Events demonstrated that uniting the Ummah was not just the matter of wishful thinking or what people wanted to see; rather it went beyond that and was manifested in the lives of rulers who were sincere believers in Allah and desired with all their hearts to unite the Ummah. This desire was translated into reality by means of hard work on the part of these rulers, and constant striving in which lives and wealth were expended. It went even further than that, using methods of might and war against all those who called for division and separation. Without that, unity cannot be established. In the light of this brief introduction, we find nothing strange in the fact that Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood ibn 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi and the Zangid dynasty in general — as well as the Ayubid dynasty, foremost among whom was Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi — carried the banner of unity and united the Ummah to stand as one unit in the face of its invading enemies. They united the Ummah in jihad for the sake of Allah and did their utmost to unite them. They fought a bitter fight and fought many battles to gain control of the land and force its emirs to unite. Their approach was as clear as the sun at midday; it was a strict approach with no compromise and no backing down: either respond to the call for unity or be toppled from authority.[1170] In 580 AH, before Hattin and before the liberation of Jerusalem, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen delivered an address to Zayn ad-Deen Yoosuf ibn Zayn ad-Deen 'Ali Koojak, ruler of Irbil and its environs and citadels, in which he said:

> Allah has given us power in the land and enabled us to support the truth and cause it to prevail, which is a duty. We gave precedence to the obligation of jihad for the sake of Allah and we showed the path to achieving that. Thus we fight the enemies of the faith and support its followers. We call upon the friends of Allah throughout the Muslim lands to fight His enemies and unite to make the word of Allah supreme in His land so that we can gain His support. Whoever helps us to

> achieve this obligation and attain this virtue will gain a great deal of reward on the basis of good deeds, and whoever clings to the earth and follows his own vain desires *(Qur'an 7: 176)* and turns away from the truth of his religion by focusing on the falsehood of this world, if he repents and turns back, we will accept him, but if he persists in his misguidance, we will impose restrictions on him and remove him.[1171]

Here we see history repeating itself. The Muslims are not united and do not have a single state ruling them; rather they are divided into small groups, and have ended up in a situation that is worse than that at the time of the Crusades under discussion here. Their lands are plundered by their enemies and their resources do not belong to them; rather the curricula and laws of their enemies are imposed on them.

Islam enjoins those who call for unity to fight those who promote division, and force them to unite, until Allah takes them away and brings others who are better than them. And Allah has no need of the worlds.[1172]

Unity is a popular demand and no separatist ruler can stand against it

When the ruler of Damascus refused to receive Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen because he did not want to unite and fight the Crusaders, the people of Damascus did not accept this attitude; they welcomed Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and his army, and influence passed into the hands of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen the mujâhid and those who were with him.[1173] The mamlook Sarkhak, ruler of the citadel of Hârim, in the environs of Aleppo, refused to hand the citadel over to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi who had corresponded with him concerning that for the purpose of uniting the Muslim forces to fight the Crusaders, but instead he sent word to the

Crusaders, seeking their protection against Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. The troops who were with him heard that he was corresponding with the Crusaders and feared that he would hand it over to them, so they seized him and imprisoned him, and sent word to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, asking him to grant them safety and to come to them. He responded to their request and they handed the fortress over to him.[1174]

The importance of unity between Egypt and Syria

The union between Egypt and Syria had a good impact on the Muslims. This formed a broad and strong war front and popular base to confront the Crusaders, if they wanted to attack any territory in Egypt or Syria. If any city in Egypt was attacked, the Syrian armies could help the region under attack, either by sending the Syrian army to fight alongside the Muslims in Egypt or by the Syrian army attacking another front against the Crusaders so as to divide their forces and thus reduce the pressure on their brethren. Similarly, if any aggression occurred against any territory in Syria, the Egyptian army could lend support to their brothers in Syria. The life of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen shows how the Egyptian army cooperated with the Syrian army in confronting the Crusaders, especially in capturing 'Ascalon and other coastal cities, or defending them.[1175] Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was able to achieve unity sometimes by diplomatic means and sometimes by use of threats; on some occasions he used limited military action to unite Egypt, Syria and the larger part of the land east of the Euphrates that was under his rule, and he compelled all other forces as far as the Persian border to participate in the jihad against the Crusaders. He accomplished that without slowing down the jihad, as offensive military operations continued under his own leadership or that of his commanders from his main base in Damascus.[1176]

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil and his efforts in uniting the Ummah

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil was the great and influential scholar in Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's state. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would consult him and not do anything without him or conceal from him any idea that he had in mind.[1177] Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil's pen achieved propaganda, political and intellectual victories for the Ayubid state, whether in correspondence with the Abbasid caliph, as we have seen, or in correspondence with the Muslim Ummah on the occasion of Hajj. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen would delegate to him administrative, social, economic and security missions in Egypt, and he would do them in the best manner. He corresponded with him and consulted him on many matters.

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil's missives to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen

There follow some details of the letters that al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil sent to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen when he was in Syria.

The walls of Cairo

"With regard to the walls of Cairo, in accordance with his highness's instructions, work was resumed and the edifice rose. The wall follows the route that leads to the coast at al-Muqaddam. May Allah grant long life to his highness so that he may see it curving like a shield around the two cities, a wall — rather a bracelet adorning Islam. The emir Bahâ' ad-Deen Qaraqoosh is following up on that himself and with his men, focusing on what he wants to achieve, unlike others; even though he has many burdens he does not burden others."[1178]

On the transferring of the position of judge from Sharaf ad-Deen ibn Abi 'Aṣroon to his son, when he lost his sight

"This matter can only lead to one of two things — may Allah choose for his highness the best option in this difficult situation with which no other Muslim king has been faced — either leaving it in the father's name so that his opinion, advice and blessing will still be available, and his son may act as his deputy, on condition that they be punished for the first mistake they make and be dismissed for the first problem that arises, for how often does the love of competition lead to acquiring righteous deeds; or delegating the matter to Imam Quṭub ad-Deen, for he is one of the remaining prominent shaykhs, the best of companions, and no one should be given precedence over him in any city except one who is of a higher standing than him."[1179]

The justification for delaying jihad

"With regard to his highness's regret for times past when he did not engage in the obligation (jihad) for which he left home but never-ending obstacles came in his way, his highness had good intentions. Doesn't Allah know best about His slave? He will not ask the doer about the completion of his deed, because that is not under his control; but He will ask him about his intention, because that is the basis of good deeds, and He will ask the one who has the ability to do good deeds about doing those deeds that were within his means. If his highness is preparing for jihad and clearing all obstacles in order to reach his goal, then he is in a state of obedience, and it is a blessing from Allah if it takes a long time, and he still has the hope of reaching his goal and attaining reward commensurate with the hardship involved. Hajj is a great blessing because of the effort and long distance involved. If his highness were able to achieve great victories in a few days and settle the matter between the Muslims and the

enemies of Islam, then the effort of jihad would come to an end, and the scrolls recording the righteous deeds earned by watching and waiting would be rolled up."[1180]

With regard to the sultan's sons

"Before we give our answer concerning the seasons, we start — as is our habit, and may that habit never cease — by giving glad tidings of sound health and well being. With regard to his highness' children, may Allah cause them to receive good news about his highness and him to receive good news about them and hasten his meeting with them and theirs with him. They are, praise be to Allah, the delight and adornment of this world, the fragrance and beauty of life. The heart that can put up with separation from them must be a big heart; a heart that is content just to hear news of them must be content indeed. A king who has the patience to stay away from them must be a king of great resolve. The blessing of Allah concerning them is indeed a blessing that makes life full of joy. Doesn't his highness long to be surrounded by their pearls? Doesn't his eye long to have the joy of beholding them?"

In another letter, he said: "The kings (Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's sons) are in good shape, safe and sound, may they continue to be so, and they have the dignity of authority, may it never depart from them. Each one of their highnesses is a master; the necklace is all pearls and they all have precedence. None of them, praise be to Allah, would change what Allah has blessed them with of good health, wellbeing, soundness and protection. ...May Allah extend the life of his highness until he sees of their development what their grandfather saw of his household, knights of brilliant valour and kings of Islam. ...Stars of the earth, offspring of one another. In this world and in the Hereafter they are knights of power and purity, on the day of battle and on the Day they appear before Allah."[1181]

Speaking out against evil

"What is enjoined with regard to obvious evils is removing their causes, closing the doors that lead to them, arranging marriage for every divorced woman,[1182] and purifying everyone who has committed evil. Allah will grant his highness the reward of one who got angry in order to please Him and forced people to follow the way and manners of the Sharia."[1183]

Waiving taxes and levies for pilgrims

"Among the glad tidings the like of which neither the pilgrims nor rulers of Egypt were used to achieving or attaining the reward thereof was keeping the levy-collectors out of Jeddah and the rest of the coastal areas. How often Allah has blessed His creation with provision at the hands of his highness, which is more than what is due. It is more appropriate for his highness to appreciate his position because he is in charge of these two holy sanctuaries that do not receive help from those who are able to help. The one who is truly deprived is the one who is able to do something good concerning them but wastes that opportunity by not hastening to do so. It is no secret to his highness how the Franks care for Jerusalem and protect it by land and sea, with warships and mounts, when far away and when near, and how they come together to protect it and hasten to support its people with their lives and wealth. Allah forbid that they should be doing the right thing when they are misguided, and that we should do the wrong thing and not help the people there when we are able to do so.[1184] At the beginning of Rajab, your servant (meaning himself) is planning, by Allah's will, to travel to the Hijaz to fulfil the obligation (of Hajj) in word and deed. Those who are going (for Hajj) this year are hoping that the standing in 'Arafah will occur on a Friday. As a result of the waiving of the levy, innumerable people are coming, and his highness will be a partner in their reward. May you enjoy this fact that kings cared about their own houses but they ended up in ruins,

whereas his highness cared about the House of Allah, so by Allah's generosity He cares about the house of his highness. How kings will be ashamed before the Prophet (ﷺ) for falling short in taking care of the visitors to Allah's House in this year."[1185]

This Hajj was in 574 AH. In 576, al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil asked Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen for permission to do Hajj, and the sultan agreed to that, and wrote to him at the top of the page, in the same line as the Basmalah: May Allah be with you; would that I could be with you, for I would have attained a great reward.[1186]

According to one report, the sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen responded to al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil's request in writing, and said, commenting on his first Hajj in 574 AH:

> I received the letter of al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil in which he says that he is intending to do Hajj; may Allah bless it. He should not go by sea, rather he should go from the camp to Aylah (Eilat) and then continue. He may stay in Aylah for one night, and in Iram for one night or less than a night, and Qâti' Iram for one night, then he will be far away (from Crusader danger) and there will no longer be any fear for him, in shâ' Allah. Secondly: Take hold of his hand and make him swear that he is not going to settle there. Thirdly: Give him three thousand dinars and tell him: You have to spend this on my behalf, not on your behalf, on those who stay to worship in Makkah and Madinah, and on their inhabitants. This is a very important matter, because people will inevitably have needs, and they must be given. If he says this is little, then you should lend me this amount from your own wealth and give it to him. This is very important, otherwise there is no permission for him to go to Hajj, unless he complies with these conditions that I have stipulated. With regard to his return, he has to return to Syria, because I have no other home, until Allah decides between me and the Franks.

﴾And He is the Best of judges.﴿ *(Qur'an 7: 87)*

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil wrote to some of the shaykhs of Makkah after he returned, saying:

> May Allah bless the Hijaz and the Ka'bah, how much I long for it. How much I yearn for the holy places. May he perish who is content to stay away from the holy places, and may he be blessed who comes and stays at that sanctuary. How I thirst for the water of Zamzam...

He continued:

> As for the blessed road, there were many dangers and incidents, all of which made us scared and emotional, but the outcome was good. When we approached Kerak, the enemy chased us but he could not catch up with us. Then Allah blessed us and the danger was removed, and we reached the land of the sultan, where we met his countenance, may we never be deprived of its cheerfulness, and we found him engaging in jihad against the enemy, devoting all his time to that and all his aims will be achieved.[1187]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's desire to perform Hajj 576 AH

Al-'Imâd al-Isfahâni wrote:

> In that year, in Rajab, the envoys of the department of the caliph al-'Azeez an-Nâṣiri Ṣadr ad-Deen Shaykh ash-Shuyookh Abul-Qâsim 'Abd ar-Raḥeem, accompanied by Shihâb ad-Deen Basheer al-Khâṣ, came to reaffirm his authority, and gave him new symbols of authority, and we met them with great respect and veneration. The sultan rode out to meet them with a cheerful expression on his face. When the

noble envoys came into sight, it was his duty to show respect and veneration. He dismounted and went forward on foot, showing humility and respect, and the envoys dismounted and came to him, and greeted him on behalf of the caliph; he returned the greeting and kissed the ground, then they rode into the city.[1188]

Ṣadr ad-Deen became a close friend of the sultan. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen intended to travel to Egypt via Eilat and the desert, and invited Ṣadr ad-Deen Shaykh ash-Shuyookh to accompany him and encouraged him to visit the grave of ash-Shâfi'i (may Allah have mercy on him). He said, "I have resolved to go on Hajj this year, so I will go with you to Cairo on condition that I stay for two days and do not enter the city; rather I will stay in the Shâfi'i graveyard and travel from there to the sea of 'Aydhâb.[1189] Then perhaps I will be able to fast Ramadan in Makkah."

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen agreed to that and Ṣadr ad-Deen sent his companions back to Baghdad, so that they could come via that city to the Hijaz, and Shihâb ad-Deen Basheer went back with the answer to his letter, accompanied by his envoy Ḍiyâ' ad-Deen ash-Shahrazoori. Al-'Isfahâni wrote a letter in response to the department of the caliph in which he said, "Your servant is heading towards Egypt to check on it, then he will pray *istikhârah*,[1190] asking Allah whether or not he should perform Hajj, then he will return to fight His enemies."[1191]

Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil wrote on behalf of al-Malik al-'Âdil to his governors in Yemen, telling them that the rulers of the east had come under the sultan's authority, and that he was intending to come to Egypt and fast Ramadan there, and go on Hajj to the House of Allah from there, and he ordered them to accumulate things that could be carried to Makkah for him: wealth, loads and gifts, things that their country had to offer.[1192] Al-Qâḍi also wrote to the emir of Makkah and the emir of Yanbu, telling them about his plans so that they could

prepare for his arrival.[1193] Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil wrote to the sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen:

> May Allah bring all kings under his authority and cause the enemy to lose sleep when thinking of him. May Allah grant to the people of Islam security by means of his justice, and may Allah grant that he may stand at 'Arafah on the greatest day of Hajj.

Then he congratulated him because Allah had blessed him with of love of jihad, and had granted him victory in the land of the Armenians and other lands, and for the intention to perform Hajj, may Allah grant him what he wants.[1194] It seems that the sultan had the opportunity to perform Hajj with Shaykh ash-Shuyookh, then something happened to prevent that.[1195]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's illness and its effect on the course of events

In 581 AH, it so happened that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen became very sick, but he pretended to be well and gave no sign of being in pain, until it overwhelmed him and got worse. When he reached Harran, he stopped there because of the severity of his pain. Rumours began to spread throughout the land and the people feared for him, and the disbelievers and heretics got their hopes up, whilst the righteous and the believers were afraid. His brother Abu Bakr al-'Âdil came to him from Aleppo with doctors and medicines, and found him very weak. He advised him to make a will and appoint a successor, and he said, "I am not worried when I am leaving behind Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmân and 'Ali," meaning his brother al-'Âdil, ruler of Aleppo, Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar, ruler of Hamah, who at that time was his deputy in Egypt and was resident there, and his two sons al-'Azeez

'Uthmân and al-Afḍal 'Ali. Then he vowed to Allah that if He healed him from this sickness, he would focus all his attention on fighting the disbelievers and he would never fight any Muslim after that, and he would make the conquest of Jerusalem his most important goal, even if he were to spend all the wealth and treasure that he owned for that purpose. He also vowed to kill Reynald de Châtillon, ruler of Kerak, with his own hand, because he had broken the truce with the sultan and attacked an Egyptian merchant caravan, seizing their wealth and then beheading them whilst saying, "Where is your Muhammad to help you?"

This entire vow was made on the advice of al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil (may Allah have mercy on him), who was the one who advised and urged him to do that and to make a covenant with Allah, may He be glorified and exalted. So Allah healed him and made him well, healing him from that sickness in which there was expiation for his sins and raising him in status, as a support for Islam and its people. This good news spread in all directions, praise be to Allah.[1196] Al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil wrote from Damascus where he was staying to al-Muzaffar Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar, who was governing Egypt on behalf of his uncle (Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen), telling him that news of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's recovery had spread everywhere and that his sickness had disappeared, praise be to Allah; its fire had been extinguished, its dust had settled and its sparks had diminished. It was no more than something to be expected, but Allah had protected against its evil and sufficed Islam against its impact. Allah could not have neglected the supplication when it came sincerely from the heart and He could not have stopped responding even though there were sins in the way, and He could not have broken His promise of relief at the time of despair.

His highness the sultan al-Malik an-Nâṣir recovered
and regained his energy for jihad,
and paradise was prepared for us;

the reckoning was over,
we passed over aṣ-ṣirâṭ[1197]
and we were exposed to terrors, fear of which
almost made the camel pass through the eye of a needle.[1198]

Al-'Imâd described Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's sickness as follows: "The more the sultan's pain increased, the higher his hopes of Allah's kindness rose; the weaker he became, the stronger his trust in Allah grew. I was with him night and day, in private and in public, and he was constantly dictating to me his will and final instructions, distributing gifts to people by my pen.[1199] His attitude improved when he regained good health, and he would talk to us in an easy and pleasant manner. His gatherings were never devoid of virtuous people, intelligent people, people of noble character, discussing useful matters in his presence, sometimes talking about Islamic rulings and fiqh issues; or about poetry and the meaning of Arabic phrases and literary topics; or about heroes and the glories of the past, and victories of jihad, and the obligation of preparing and being ready for it. He vowed that if Allah saved him from this sickness, and healed him from this illness and its bitterness by granting him good health, pure and sweet, he would focus on conquering Jerusalem even if it cost him dearly in wealth and lives, and that he would devote the rest of his life to nothing other than fighting the enemies of Allah and striving in jihad for His sake, supporting and striving to help the people of Islam. He would never abandon his character of generosity and giving all that he had, fulfilling covenants, adhering to deals, keeping promises. He might sometimes find some comfort at various times of night or day by listening to singing on the doctors' advice, so as to relax and find some pleasure. That sickness was purification from Allah for his sins, and a reminder to him to wake him from the slumber of forgetfulness.[1200] His regular charity was plentiful and given to righteous people, but his generosity

encompassed everyone.[1201] By means of his charity he warded off calamities and confirmed his sincerity, and Allah looked at his intentions."[1202]

Important figures who died during this stage

Death of 'Asmat Khatoon

In 572 AH, the sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen married the lady Khatoon 'Asmat ad-Deen bint Mu'een ad-Deen Anar, who had been the wife of the king Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood. After the latter's death, she had stayed in the citadel, respected and honoured. Her guardian who gave her in marriage was her brother Sa'd ad-Deen Mas'ood ibn Anar, and the marriage was performed by al-Qâḍi Ibn Abi 'Aṣroon and the people of good character who were with him. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen stayed with her that night and the following one.[1203] She was one of the best of women and among the most chaste and charitable. She was the one who established the al-Khatooniyah endowment at the place of Ḥajar adh-Dhahab, and established Khanqah Khatoon outside Bâb an-Naṣr, and she was buried there on the slope of Qasiyoon, near Qibâb ash-Sharkasiyah, beside which is Dar al-Ḥadeeth al-Ashrafiyah wal-Atabakiyah. She established many other endowments, and died in 581 AH.[1204]

Death of the senior emir Sa'd ad-Deen Mas'ood ibn Mu'een ad-Deen

He was one of the senior emirs at the time of Noor ad-Deen and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, and he was the brother of the lady Khatoon 'Asmat ad-Deen. When Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen married her, he married the latter's sister the lady Rabee'ah Khatoon bint Ayub, by whom the Madrasah aṣ-Ṣalâḥiyah for the Hanbalis was founded. She lived to old age and died in 643 AH. She was the last of the children of Ayub

to die. Sa'd ad-Deen died in Damascus in Jumâda II 581 AH from wounds that he had sustained during the siege of Mayafariqin.[1205]

Death of Turanshah, the brother of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen

In 576 AH, the sultan's oldest brother, al-Malik al-Mu'adhdham Shams ad-Dawlah Turanshah ibn Ayub died. He had conquered Yemen on the orders of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, and he stayed there for a while and collected a great deal of wealth. Then he left a deputy to govern the land and went to see his brother in Syria because he missed him. He had written to him on the way, quoting lines of poetry that were written for him by the poet Ibn al-Munajjim, when they had reached Tayma'.

He came to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in 571 AH and was with him during famous battles and great campaigns. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen made him his deputy in Damascus for a while, then he went to Egypt when he was appointed as his deputy in Alexandria, but its climate did not suit him; he suffered colic there and died, and was buried in the emir's palace. His sister Sitt ash-Shâm bint Ayub moved his remains in a coffin to Damascus and he was buried in al-Madrasah ash-Shâmiyah.[1206] The meaning of the name Turanshah is "King of the East."[1207] Al-Malik Turanshah was noble, generous, acclaimed, courageous and brave; he inspired respect in people's hearts and was serious and patient.[1208] When news of his death reached his brother, the sultan al-Malik an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, who was camping outside Homs, he grieved deeply for him and recited lines of verse eulogizing him.[1209]

Death of al-Malik al-Manṣoor 'Izz ad-Deen Farookh Shah ibn Shahinshah ibn Ayub

He died in 578 AH. He was the ruler of Baalbek and the deputy in Damascus of his paternal uncle al-Malik Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen. He was the father of al-Malik al-Amjad Bahrâm Shah, who also ruled

Baalbek after his father died. Farookh Shah was gallant, courageous, heroic, wise, intelligent, dignified, noble and acclaimed. He was praised by the poets for his generosity, virtue and kindness. He was one of the greatest companions of Shaykh Tâj ad-Deen Abul-Yaman al-Kindi, and he wrote poetry praising al-Kindi. One of the incidents which point to his gallantry and chivalry occurred one day when he went to the bath house and saw a man who he had known to be wealthy, but he had become so poor that he was covering himself with his hand. He felt sorry for him and told his slave to take a bundle of clothing and a mat to where the man lived, and to give him a mule and one thousand dinars. He also allocated to him a monthly stipend of twenty dinars. Thus the man entered as one of the poorest of people and exited as one of the richest.[1210] May the mercy of Allah be upon the generous and wise.

Death of Aḥmad ar-Rifâ'i

He was an imam, leader, worshipper and ascetic, Shaykh of the 'Ârifeen (those who have knowledge of Allah), Abul-'Abbâs Aḥmad ibn Abil-Ḥasan 'Ali ibn Aḥmad ar-Rifâ'i al-Maghrebi al-Batâ'ihi. His father had come from the Maghreb and lived in al-Batâ'ih, in the village of Umm 'Ubaydah, and he married the sister of Manṣoor az-Zâhid, who bore him Shaykh Aḥmad and his siblings. Abul-Ḥasan recited Qur'an well and used to lead Shaykh Manṣoor in prayer. He died when his son Aḥmad was still unborn, so the child was raised by his maternal uncle. It was said that he was born at the beginning of the year 500 AH, and that he used to urge his companions, if he had any faults, to point them out to him.

Shaykh 'Umar al-Faroothi said, "O *Seedi,*[1211] I know of a fault in you."

He asked, "What is it?"

He said, "O Seedi, your fault is that we are your companions."

The Shaykh and his followers wept and he said, "O 'Umar, if the boat is sound it will carry whoever is in it."

It was said that a cat slept on the sleeve of Shaykh Aḥmad, and the call for prayer was given, so he cut his sleeve and did not disturb the cat, then he sat down and stitched it back and said, "Nothing has changed."

He also said, "The shortest route to Allah is humility, modesty and feeling the need for Him, venerating the command of Allah, showing compassion to the creation of Allah and following the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ)."[1212]

He did not stand up for prominent figures and he said, "Looking at their faces hardens the heart."

He prayed for forgiveness a great deal; he was of high status, soft hearted and very sincere. He died in 578 in Jumâda I.[1213]

Poetry

Concerning the battle of Marj al-'Uyoon

The poet Ibn at-Ta'âweedhi praised Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen in verse, noting that the enemy had nearly succeeded in their plot and had concealed their enmity with a smile:

But Damascus, when you came to it,
became a place of refuge for the banished and the poor.
You are forgiving yet powerful,
modest yet proud, tough yet gentle.
You showed us your good deeds
and reminded us of the early generation.
You guaranteed to bring back their days
by doing generous deeds,
and you were ever the best guarantor.[1214]

Usâmah ibn Munqidh praises Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen

Usâmah ibn Munqidh came to Damascus in 570 AH and recited:

I am happy to have grown old with grey hair
even though I have committed many sins,
because I have lived long enough to meet, after my enemies,
one who is a friend and beloved.[1215]

Attitude of the scholars concerning those who reviled the Companions

In 574 AH, a heretical poet whose name was Ibn Qurâya, was arrested in Baghdad. He used to stand in the marketplaces and recite lines of poetry condemning and reviling the Companions of the Prophet (may Allah be pleased with them), describing them as unjust, and criticizing those who loved them. A hearing was held on the caliph's orders, and he was investigated. He turned out to be an extreme and deviant heretic. The scholars issued orders that his tongue be cut out and his hands cut off, and this was done to him. Then the masses went after him and stoned him, and the police were unable to rescue him from them.[1216]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen enters Armenia

In 576 AH, the sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen made a truce with the Franks and headed towards Anatolia. He brought about reconciliation between Noor ad-Deen Muhammad ibn Qara Arslan ibn Dâwood ibn Artuq, ruler of Hasankeyf, and the sultan 'Izz ad-Deen Kilij Arslan ibn Mas'ood ibn Kilij Arslan. They met at a river called Kook Soo,[1217] where they exchanged gifts and

invitations, and celebrated a great deal.[1218] In that year, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen entered Armenia to depose their king Ibn Lâwin, because he had granted security to some of the Turkmen to come and graze in Armenia, then in the morning he betrayed them and took them all captive. So the sultan entered his land and humiliated his helpers and troops, and Allah supported the Muslims with fear. Because of that fear the Armenians set fire to a large citadel known as Manaqeer, and the Muslims hastened to save what it contained of equipment and foodstuffs. That gave them some power, and they demolished it completely.[1219] The Armenian king was humiliated and subjugated, then he released the captives he was holding, and the sultan went back victorious and reached Hamah at the end of Jumâda II.[1220]

The astrologers and the end of the world

In 582 AH, the astrologers in all countries said that the world would end that year in Sha'bân, with the conjunction of the six planets in Libra and a strong wind that would blow everywhere. Those who had no certain faith and no understanding of religion, such as the kings of the Persians and Byzantines, were scared by that prediction and they (the astrologers) warned them of the effects of the stars, so they started to dig caves in the slopes of hills and built bunkers in tunnels, strengthening them and blocking all openings to prevent the wind coming in. They brought in water and other supplies, and moved into these bunkers and waited for the appointed time. Every time we heard about them we laughed heartily at their way of thinking. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was annoyed at the falsehood of the astrologers and was certain that their words were based on lies and conjecture. When the night came on which the astrologers said there would be a wind like that of 'Âd,[1221] according to al-'Imâd al-Isfahâni:

The time approached when we were sitting with the sultan in the open air; the stars were very clear in the sky and no breeze was stirring. We never saw any night like it in stillness, quietness and calm.[1222]

The Abbasid caliph's consideration towards his Jewish subjects

In 573 AH, there was a great deal of trouble between the Jews and the masses in Baghdad, the cause of which was that a muezzin near a Jewish synagogue was insulted verbally by one of the Jews, so the Muslim insulted him back and they got into a fight. The muezzin came and complained to the court and the situation got worse. The masses got together and made a lot of noise. On Friday the masses prevented the khuṭbah from being given in some of the mosques, and they left straight away and plundered the market of the perfume-sellers where the Jews did business, and went to the synagogue and plundered it, and the police were unable to stop them. The caliph ordered that some of the perpetrators be crucified, so at night some of the villains who were in prison and had been sentenced to death were taken out and crucified. Many of the people thought that this was because of these events, so the *fitnah*[1223] quieted down, praise be to Allah.[1224]

The killing of the caliph's vizier 'Adud ad-Dawlah

In 573 AH, the caliph's vizier 'Adud ad-Dawlah ibn Ra'ees ar-Ru'asâ' ibn al-Muslimah set out for Hajj and the people went out with him to bid him farewell. Three Bâṭinis came to him in the guise of poor people, and they had a 'message' to give him. One of them

came forward to give him the message: he struck the vizier several times with his knife, then the second attacked, and then the third. They made mincemeat of him and wounded a number of people around him. All three were killed immediately. The vizier was carried back to his house and died that same day. This vizier is the one who killed the two sons of the vizier Ibn Ḥubayrah and executed them, so Allah sent people against him to kill him. As you treat others, so you will be treated, as a just punishment.

﴾And your Lord is not ever unjust to [His] servants.﴿

(Qur'an 41: 46)[1225]

Allah compensates people

The year 577 AH began with al-Malik an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen staying in Cairo, regularly attending lessons of hadith. A letter came from his deputy in Syria, 'Izz ad-Deen Farrookh Shah, telling how Allah had blessed the people with many births of twins, as a compensation for what had befallen them in the previous year of widespread epidemic and death. That year Syria also experienced a great deal of rain as compensation for the drought and resultant high prices that had befallen it earlier.[1226]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen puts his administrative and military affairs in order before Hattin

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen returned from east of the Euphrates to Damascus on 2 Rabee' I 582 CE, and was warmly welcomed by the common people and elite. The common folk were celebrating his recovery from the sickness that had generated so many rumours and a great deal of worry, and the elite were also celebrating that. As well,

they celebrated his achievement of the goal of unifying the Muslims by uniting the countries that formed the heart of the Muslim world under the leadership of the Abbasid caliph in Iraq and the leadership of the sultan on behalf of the caliph, to rule Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, Yemen and elsewhere. The first person with whom he met after his family was his senior vizier and prominent consultant, the brains behind his state and the one who ran its affairs, al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil.[1227] Al-'Isfahâni commented:

> The sultan met with his family in the citadel, and those who had been spreading false rumours gave up their ignorance. The situation improved and we enjoyed the company of this virtuous man. The sultan met with him (al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil) and told him his thoughts and was comforted by his discussion with him. He visited him once and asked him to return the visit, and he discussed issues of state with him and consulted him.

What did Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen achieve in his campaign against Mosul? What were the administrative and military procedures that he undertook after returning to Damascus to put his state in order and prepare for the great confrontation?

He reached a peace deal with the Zangid ruler of Mosul, and put a stop to sermons being given in the name of the Seljuks in Mosul, and sermons were given in the name of the sultan Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen after mentioning the Abbasid caliph. The Zangid ruler of Mosul gave up to the sultan everything that lay beyond the Zâb river: "land, fortresses, citadels, villages, Shahrazoor and its villages and environs, the province of Banu Qafjâq, the province of al-Qurâbili, al-Bawâzeej and 'Ânah," in return for being permitted to keep Mosul and its environs, provided that he come under the authority of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and send his troops to join them; furthermore, the sermons and coinage were to be in the name of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen.[1228]

Sermons and coinage were issued in Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's name, and obedience was sworn to him in other parts of Mesopotamia and Diyarbakir, especially that which was under the control of Banu Artuq. Troops were also to be sent to help the sultan in jihad when requested, because there had been hindrances to the resolve for jihad for the sake of Allah; now these obstacles had been removed.[1229]

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen added Edessa and its citadel and province to the fief of Kawkaboori ibn Zayn ad-Deen 'Ali Koojak who had been the first one to support him in his operations east of the Euphrates from the outset, and because of his devotion in serving the sultan and carrying out his decrees; it was apparent that he deserved to become prominent and be rewarded.[1230] He was the emir under whose control all the eastern forces were brought at the battle of Hattin.[1231]

The sultan abolished the illegitimate taxes throughout the land that submitted directly or indirectly to his authority. That was what the sultan always did in all countries, and he limited taxes to those that are permitted in the Sharia, namely land taxes, fees, agricultural taxes,[1232] and so on.

With regard to private family matters in his household and that of his uncle, he followed the same initial procedures in Aleppo and took al-'Âdil with him to Damascus so as to finalize the matter with regard to final arrangements, after consulting al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil and others. On the way, he put the affairs of Homs in order, the ruler of which, Ibn Shirkuh, had died; he appointed his son in his stead and obliged him to take care of the border city there, as well as to limit taxes to the legitimate types. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen spent the rest of the year (582 AH/March to June 1187 CE) completing administrative arrangements and military preparations in Egypt and Syria.

Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen appointed his son adh-Dhâhir Ghazi as governor of Aleppo instead of his brother al-Malik al-'Âdil, the

father of adh-Dhâhir's wife, by agreement between the two brothers. He put the citadel of Aleppo under the control of the emir Bishârah and the city under the control of Shujâ' ad-Deen 'Eesâ ibn Blasho.[1233]

He summoned al-Malik al-Afḍal, his eldest son, from Egypt to Damascus to appoint him as his deputy He appointed his son al-'Azeez 'Uthmân as his deputy in Egypt, and he appointed with him his son al-Malik al-'Âdil to administer the affairs of Egypt. He allocated a suitable fief with which al-'Âdil was pleased.

This last appointment annoyed Taqi ad-Deen 'Umar, his nephew, who decided to head towards the Maghreb to take control of it and establish a kingdom there. This would definitely affect Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's military plans, however, because Taqi ad-Deen was one of his most prominent officials as well as being a highly-placed military commander and consultant. So Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen sent word to him, trying to placate him. It is reported that the sultan said:

> No doubt the conquest of the Maghreb is important, but the conquest of Jerusalem is more important and the benefit thereof is greater, as are the interests to be served thereby, both private and public. If Taqi ad-Deen goes and takes with him our good men, then a lifetime spent in selecting these men will be wasted. If we conquer Jerusalem and the coast, we will easily acquire those other lands.[1234]

Then he wrote to Taqi ad-Deen ordering him to come to Syria; al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil also wrote to him, and whatever the qâḍi said would be heeded:

The reason for this letter is what your servant (meaning himself) heard of the letter sent by his highness (Taqi ad-Deen) seeking permission to go to the Maghreb. Your highness, what is happening? What has upset you? Yesterday you had nothing of this

world but a little, but now Allah has given you this blessing. We are all together and there is nothing to cause distress or worry. Would this earth now become constricted for us when Allah has made it spacious? How could things reach an impasse such that we are compelled to go elsewhere? No, your highness, things have not reached that end, so where are you going? What is the point? Are we going through hardship or are our numbers too little? Or is it that we have no land to live in? Or are we penniless? How could you choose something other than what Allah has chosen for us? How could we plan for ourselves when Allah has shown us the way? How could we prefer an arid land when we are living in a fertile land? How could we decide to fight Muslims, which is forbidden, when we are called upon to fight the hostile disbelievers? O workers, troops and thinkers, is there any wise man among you? His highness was known for adopting sound ideas, and is aware of the reasons and consequences of these decisions. May he never be missed in our midst, may there never come days when he is not there; may there never come a day when the sun of his countenance does not shine, for that day will be counted as a night and will not be regarded as a day.[1235]

How could this great emir, after all these arguments and pleas, not respond to the sultan's command? So he headed with his family and troops towards Damascus where he was met by the sultan in Marj as-Saffar on the 23rd of Sha'bân 582 AH/10 November 1186 CE, and they entered Damascus together. The sultan gave him Hamah and all its lands as a fiefdom and ordered him to guard the border, so he went there and remained there until further orders came to him from the sultan.

With these sound arrangements, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil were able to organize the affairs of state from the furthest point in the east to the furthest point in the west, and began to focus on preparations for the great campaign, to which he was looking

forward. At the same time, the political situation in the Crusader kingdom was getting worse; the dispute between the barons and the king's party and supporters was reaching its climax, which motivated Count Raymond III, who had been deposed from the position of regent with the crowning of Guy de Lusignan, husband of the heiress to the throne, to seek a truce with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen so that he would keep away from his country (Tripoli) and the land of his wife (Tiberias), according to what is mentioned in the Arabic sources. Raymond sought the protection of the sultan and became one of his followers, and the sultan accepted him, strengthened him and supported him by releasing those of his companions whom he was holding as captives, and he became very sincere towards the Muslims. The reason that prompted Raymond to make this deal was that the head of the Templars had advised King Guy to gather his forces and besiege Raymond so as to force him to surrender. The king did gather his troops, but Balian son of Barisan, ruler of Nablus, convinced him that this movement was a mistake, so the troops dispersed and he returned to Jerusalem. Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen remained in Damascus, waiting for a suitable opportunity to gather his troops and head towards the battlefield. The capture of a caravan coming from Egypt to Syria, and the failure of negotiations between the sultan, Reynald de Châtillon and the king to solve the problem led to both sides making preparations. The sultan wrote to the troops in Mosul, Mesopotamia, Aleppo, Hamah and Egypt, ordering them to come. The easterners and the Aleppans were to meet in Ra's al-Mâ', which was the regular camp ground for Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and the meeting point for expeditions. The Egyptians, led by his brother al-'Âdil, were to march to the land of Kerak and Crac de Montreal. As for the sultan, he set out to Jasr al-Khashab and stayed there until all the troops of Damascus were gathered with him.[1236]

Notes

[1] al-Atheer, Ibn, *At-Târeekh al-Bâhir fid-Dawlah al-Atâbekiyah*, p. 119
[2] ibid.
[3] al-Maqreezi, *Al-Mawâ'idh wal I'tibâr bi Dhikr al-Khuṭaṭ wal Âthâr*, vol. 3, p. 404
[4] an-Naqar, Muhammad al-Ḥâfidh, *Târeekh Bayt al-Maqdis*, p. 132
[5] ibid.
[6] an-Naqar op. cit., p. 132
[7] 'Ulwân, 'Abdullâh, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayyoobi Baṭal al-Islâm aṣ-Ṣâliḥ*, p. 17
[8] op. cit., p. 18
[9] al-Maqdisi op. cit., vol. 2, p. 252
[10] ibid.
[11] an-Naqar, Muhammad al-Ḥâfiz, *Târeekh Bayt al-Maqdis*, p. 133
[12] al-Hamawi, Shihâb ad-Deen, *Mu'jam al-Buldân*, vol. 2, p. 491
[13] al-Maqdisi op. cit.; 'Ulwân, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 20
[14] 'Ulwân, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 21
[15] 'Ulwân, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 21; Zakkâr, Suhayl, *al-Mawsoo'ah ash-Shâmilah*, vol. 24, p. 142
[16] 'Ulwân, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 21
[17] Shibili, *Mawsoo'ah at-Târeekh al-Islami*, vol. 5, p. 187
[18] Ibn Tagharri op. cit., vol. 6, p. 5; Ibn Wâṣil op. cit., vol. 1, p. 8
[19] al-Maqdisi op. cit., vol. 1, p. 48
[20] al-Maqdisi op. cit. vol. 1, p. 48, *al-Fikr as-Sooqi al-Ayyoobi*, p. 82
[21] Ibn Shaddad, Bahâ' ad-Deen, *an-Nawâdir as-Sultâniyah*, p. 6; *al-Fikr as-Sooqi al-Ayyoobi*, p. 82
[22] Shahbah, Taqi ad-Deen, *al-Kawâkib ad-Durriyah fis-Seerah an-Nooriyah*, p. 43
[23] *al-Fikr as-Sooqi al-Ayyoobi*, p. 83
[24] ibid.
[25] al-'Urayni, *Ash-Sharq al-Adnâ fil-Uṣoor al-Wusṭâ al-Ayoobiyoon*, p. 54
[26] *al-Fikr as-Sooqi al-Ayyoobi*, p. 83
[27] *al-Fikr as-Sooqi al-Ayyoobi.*
[28] al-Muhtadi, 'Ablah, *Al-Quds Târeekh wa Ḥaḍârah*, p. 182
[29] 'Ulwân, 'Abdullâh, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 22

[30] op. cit., p. 23
[31] Shabaro, 'Iṣâm, *as-Salâṭeen fil-Mashriq al-'Arabi*; *al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 139
[32] op. cit., p. 140
[33] 'Ulwân op. cit., p. 139
[34] Ibn Shaddââd, *Seerat as-Sulṭân an-Nâṣir Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayyoobi*, p. 58
[35] op. cit., p. 59
[36] ibid.
[37] ibid.
[38] op. cit., p. 60
[39] op. cit., p. 61
[40] Ibn Shaddâd, p. 61
[41] It seems that Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen suffered from high blood pressure.
[42] The French: i.e., the Latin Crusaders; most of the first and second Crusader campaigns were composed of French troops.
[43] King of England: i.e., Richard the Lionhearted.
[44] Ibn Shaddâd, p. 64
[45] Ibn Shaddâd, p. 66
[46] ibid.
[47] op. cit., p. 69; 'Ulwân, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 143
[48] *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, quoted in 'Ulwân, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 143
[49] op. cit., p. 144
[50] *an-Nahj al-Maslook fee Siyâsat al-Mulook*, p. 103
[51] ibid.
[52] Ibn Shaddâd, p. 73
[53] The personal standard or flag of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was yellow, and in the middle of it was a red eagle.
[54] Ibn Shaddâd, p. 74
[55] ibid.
[56] *al-Akhlâq bayna at-Tab' wat-Tatabbu'*, p. 157
[57] Bukhari, no. 3040
[58] Bukhari, no. 6034
[59] Ibn Shaddâd, p. 70
[60] ibid.
[61] Taqqoosh, Muhammad, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr*, p. 221
[62] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr wa Bilâd al-Shâm*, p. 221
[63] Maḥmood, Muhammad, *al-Fath al-Qasiy fil-Fath al-Qudsi*, p. 629
[64] Ibn Shaddâd op. cit., p. 49
[65] Taqqoosh, p. 222
[66] ibid.

[67] Ibn Shaddâd, p. 71
[68] op. cit., p. 76
[69] Ibn Shaddâd, p. 79
[70] Surrâb, Muhammad, *Bayt al-Maqdis wal-Masjid al-Aqsâ*, p. 112
[71] *al-Akhlâq bayna at-Tab' wat-Tatabbu'*, p. 138
[72] Zakkâr, vol. 24, p. 449
[73] Zakkâr, vol. 24, p. 449
[74] Ibn Shaddâd, p. 85
[75] Ibn Shaddâd, p. 86
[76] Richard the Lionhearted
[77] Ibn Shaddâd, p. 88
[78] 'Ulwân, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayyoobi*, p. 149
[79] al-Jurjâni, *at-Ta'reefât*, p. 111
[80] Ibn al-Qayyim, *Tahdheeb Madârij as-Sâlikeen*, vol. 2, p. 697-699
[81] Ibn Shaddâd, p. 91
[82] ibid.
[83] Ibn Shaddâd, p. 92
[84] Ibid.
[85] 'Ulwân, p. 151
[86] op. cit., 93, 94
[87] *al-Akhlâq bayna at-Tab' wat-Tatabbu'*, p. 197
[88] ibid.
[89] al-Albâni, *Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Jâmi'*, vol. 1, p. 992; *as-Silsilah aṣ-Ṣaḥeeḥah*, no. 143
[90] Ibn Shaddâd, p. 82
[91] op. cit., p. 83
[92] Mangonel: a wooden catapult machine with two uprights, between which was a long arm
[93] Ibn Shaddâd, p. 84
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibn Wâṣil. *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 211; Ibraheem, Maḥmood, *Ḥatteen bayna Akhbâr Mu'arrikheeha wa Sha'r Mu'âṣireeha*, p. 46
[96] Ibn Katheer, Ismâ'eel, *Tafseer Ibn Katheer*, vol. 2, p. 73
[97] Ibn Shaddâd, *an-Nawâdir as-Sulṭâniyah wal-Mahâsin al-Yoosufiyah*, p. 63
[98] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr wa Bilâd ash-Shâm*, p. 225
[99] *Al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in: Taqqoosh op. cit., p. 225
[100] Ibn Shaddâd, *an-Nawâdir as-Sulṭâniyah wal-Mahâsin al-Yoosufiyah*, pp. 352-353
[101] *da'wah*: disseminating the teachings of Islam and calling people to accept and embrace Islam

[102] Badawi, 'Abd al-Majeed Abul-Futooh, *at-Târeekh as-Siyâsi wal-Fikri*, p. 246
[103] Ibn Shaddâd, *an-Nawâdir as-Sulṭâniyah wal-Mahâsin al-Yoosufiyah*, p. 7
[104] Badawi op. cit., p. 246
[105] op. cit., p. 233
[106] ibid.
[107] Rihlat Ibn Jubayr, p. 21
[108] Badawi, p. 234
[109] Ibn Khallikân, *Wafeeyât al-A'yân wa Anbâ' az-Zamân*, vol. 6, p. 206
[110] al-Maqreezi, Taqi ad-Deen, *Al-Mawâ'idh wal I'tibâr bi Dhikr al-Khuṭaṭ wal Âthâr* , vol. 1, pp. 427, 428
[111] Badawi, p. 235
[112] *al-Maqreezi*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 366
[113] op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 365, 371
[114] op. cit., p. 375
[115] Badawi, p. 236
[116] ibid.
[117] *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, vol. 1, p. 480
[118] al-Maqreezi, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 365
[119] Zaytoon, Maḥmood, *al-Ḥâfidh as-Salafi*, p. 140
[120] Inns: Mahâris (sing. Mahras): a special place for ascetics, travellers and the poor. See: Badawi, *at-Târeekh as-Siyâsi wal-Fikri*, p. 237
[121] *Rihlat Ibn Jubayr*, p. 15
[122] op. cit., p. 16, 17
[123] al-Maqdisi op. cit., quoted in: Badawi, *at-Târeekh as-Siyâsi wal-Fikri*, p. 238
[124] *Ḥusn al-Muhâdarah*, vol. 2, p. 57
[125] *Rihlat Ibn Jubayr*, p. 22
[126] al-Maqreezi, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 415, 416
[127] ibid, vol. 2, p. 415
[128] *Seerat al-Qâhirah*; Badawi, p. 240
[129] *Ad-Dâris fee Târeekh al-Madâris*, vol. 1, p. 579
[130] Badawi, p. 241
[131] *Ad-Dâris fee Târeekh al-Madâris*, vol. 1, p. 19
[132] Badawi, p. 241
[133] ibid., quoting from Ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir'ât az-Zamân fee Târeekh al-A'yân*
[134] ibid.
[135] ibid.
[136] *Rihlat Ibn Jubayr*, p. 220

137 op. cit., p. 223
138 *A'lâm an-Nubulâ' bi Târeekh Ḥalab ash-Shahbâ'*, vol. 4, pp. 355-356
139 Badawi, p. 243
140 Ibn Khallikân, vol. 6, pp. 87, 89
141 Ibn Wâṣil, vol. 4, pp. 311-312
142 *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, p. 25
143 Ibn Shaddâd, *Seerat Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 9; Badawi, *at-Târeekh as-Siyâsi wal-Fikri*, p. 243
144 *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, p. 220
145 ibid.; Badawi, op. cit., p. 243
146 *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, vol. 2, p. 506
147 adh-Dhahabi, vol. 4, pp. 355, 356; *at-Târeekh as-Siyâsi wal-Fikri*, p. 244
148 al-Maqdisi op. cit., quoted in: Badawi, *al-Târeekh as-Siyâsi wal-Fikri*, p. 245
149 *Tabaqât ash-Shâfi'iyah*, vol. 4, p. 226
150 Ibn Shaddâd, *Seerat Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 10; Badawi, *at-Târeekh as-Siyâsi wal-Fikri*, p. 245
151 Badawi, *at-Târeekh as-Siyasi wal-Fikri*, p. 245
152 al-Maqreezi op. cit., vol. 2, p. 265
153 *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, vol. 2, p. 33, 34; Badawi, *at-Târeekh as-Siyâsi wal-Fikri*, p. 245
154 Badawi, p. 245
155 *ad-Dâris fee Târeekh al-Madâris*, vol. 1, pp. 19, 21
156 Badawi, p. 246
157 ibid.
158 *Shu'bat al-'Aqeedah bayna Abil-Ḥasan wal-Muntasibeen 'ilayhi*, p. 21
159 adh-Dhahabi, vol. 15, p. 86
160 op. cit., vol. 15, p. 87
161 op. cit., vol. 15, p. 86
162 Qâḍi 'Iyâd, *Tarteeb al-Madârik*, vol. 5, p. 24
163 al-Maḥmood, Abdurrahman, *Mawqif Ibn Taymiyah min al-'Ashâ'irah*, vol. 1, p. 339
164 as-Subki, *Tabaqât ash-Shâfi'iyah*, vol. 3, p. 347
165 *Mawqif Ibn Taymiyah min al-'Ashâ'irah*, vol. 1, p. 340
166 *Shu'bat al-'Aqeedah bayna Abul-Ḥasan al-'Ash'ari wal-Muntasimeen 'ilayhi*, p. 36
167 adh-Dhahabi, vol. 11, p. 174
168 *Shu'bat al-'Aqeedah bayna Abul-Ḥasan al-'Ash'ari wal-Muntasimeen 'ilayhi*, p. 42

[169] Ibn Taymiyah, *Al-Fatâwâ al-Kubrâ*, vol. 5, p. 556 and vol. 3, p. 103
[170] *Shu'bat al-'Aqeedah bayna Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari wal-Muntasimeen 'ilayhi*, p. 42
[171] op. cit., p. 43
[172] *Shu'bat al-'Aqeedah bayna Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari wal-Muntasimeen 'ilayhi*, p. 44
[173] Ibn Taymiyah op. cit., vol. 13, pp. 131, 154
[174] *Muwâfaqah Sareeh al-Ma'qool li Ṣaḥeeḥ al-Manqool*, vol. 2, p. 4, 5
[175] Majmoo' al-Fatâwa, vol. 12, p. 368
[176] *Shu'bat al-'Aqeedah bayna Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari wal-Muntasimeen 'ilayhi*, p. 45
[177] op. cit., p. 45
[178] ibid
[179] Ibn Taymiyah, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 53
[180] *Ijtimâ' al-Juyoosh al-Islâmiyah*, p. 112
[181] adh-Dhahabi, vol. 15, p. 86
[182] az-Zubaydi, al-Murtadâ, *Ittihâf as-Sâdah al-Muttaqeen*, p. 48
[183] *Jalâ' al-'Aynayn*, p. 213
[184] *Ghâyat al-Amâni fir-Radd 'alâ al-Buhtâni*, vol. 2, p. 408
[185] See *al-Muntaqah* by adh-Dhahabi, commentary by Muḥibb ad-Deen, no. 2, p. 41
[186] *Shu'bat al-'Aqeedah bayna Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari wal-Muntasimeen 'ilayhi*, p. 49
[187] *al-Fatâwa*, vol. 3, p. 288
[188] adh-Dhahabi, *Tadhkirah*, vol. 2, p. 709
[189] adh-Dhahabi, *Siyâr A'lâm al-Nubalâ'*, p. 97
[190] *Shu'bat al-'Aqeedah bayna Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari wal-Muntasimeen 'ilayhi*, p. 50
[191] *Ijtimâ' al-Juyoosh al-Islâmiyah*, p. 97
[192] Ibn Katheer, *al-Bidâyah wan-Nihâyah*, vol. 11, p. 131
[193] Shaykh Ḥammâd al-Anṣâri wrote a book in which he affirmed that al-Ash'ari came back to the madh-hab of the salaf.
[194] *Tabyeen Kadhib al-Muftari*, p. 28
[195] Ibn Darbâs, *Risâlat adh-Dhabb 'an Abil-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari* p. 107, ed. Dr. 'Ali Nâ@sir al-Faqeehi
[196] *Mukhtasar al-'Aluw*, p. 239
[197] *Ijtimâ' al-Juyoosh al-Islâmiyah*, p. 113
[198] *ad-Deebâj al-Mudhahhab*, p. 195

[199] *Shu'bat al-'Aqeedah bayna Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari wal-Muntasimeen 'ilayhi*, p. 53

[200] *Tabyeen Kadhib al-Muftari*, p. 116

[201] an-Nadawi, Abul-Ḥasan, *Rijâl al-Fikr wad-Da'wah fil-Islâm*, vol. 1, pp. 143, 144

[202] an-Nadawi op. cit., p. 5

[203] op. cit., vol. 1, p. 147

[204] op. cit., vol. 1, p. 148

[205] *Tabyeen Kadhib al-Muftari*, p. 136

[206] *qiyâs*: analogy: a method of deriving rulings in jurisprudence

[207] Successive narration (*mutawâtir*) is one conveyed by narrators so numerous that it is not conceivable that they have agreed upon an untruth, thus the narration is accepted as unquestionable in its veracity. (Editor)

[208] an-Nadawi, vol. 1, p. 150

[209] ibid.

[210] *mujtahid*: a person qualified to exercise *ijtihâd*, which means to use one's knowledge of the Qur'an and the Sunnah to derive rulings on matters not specifically mentioned in either source of Islamic law

[211] *Tabyeen Kadhib al-Muftari*

[212] an-Nadawi, vol. 1, p. 150

[213] Ibn Khallikân, *Wafiyât al-A'yân*, vol. 1, p. 412

[214] *fitnah*: *lit.* trial, temptation; discord (sown) between Muslims

[215] These are names of two angels.

[216] An issue concerning which there was a lengthy debate among the scholars.

[217] al-Khamees, Muhammad, *I'tiqâd Ahl as-Sunnah Aṣ-ḥâb al-Ḥadeeth Sharḥ Jumlah ma Ḥakâhu 'anhum Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari wa Qarraruhu fee Maqâlâtihi*, p. 11-171. Dr. al-Khamees undertook a study of these basic principles.

[218] Ibn Khallikân, *Wafiyât al-A'yân*, vol. 1, p-. 412

[219] an-Nadawi, *Rijâl al-Fikr wad-Da'wah*, vol. 1, p. 151

[220] Sayyid, *Târeekh Miṣr al-Islâmiyah Zamân Salâṭeen Bani Ayyoob*, p. 150

[221] op. cit., p. 136, 163

[222] Badawi, *at-Târeekh as-Siyâsi wal-Fikri*, p. 244

[223] Badawi, *at-Târeekh as-Siyâsi wal-Fikri*, p. 248

[224] Ibn Shaddâd, *Seerat Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 10

[225] *al-Ḥayât al-'Ilmiyah fee Miṣr wash-Shâm*, p. 6

[226] Badawi, *at-Târeekh as-Siyâsi wal-Fikri lil-Madh-hab as-Sunni*, p. 251

[227] *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, p. 73; Sayyid op. cit., p. 183

[228] Jamâl Saroor, *An-Nufoodh al-Fâṭimi fee Jazeerat al-'Aran*, p. 183

[229] Sayyid, p. 183
[230] ibid.
[231] ibid.
[232] Ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir'ât az-Zamân*, vol. 8, p. 213; Badawi, *at-Târeekh as-Siyâsi wal-Fikri*, p. 251
[233] al-Maqdisi op. cit., vol. 2, p. 48
[234] *Ḥusn al-Muḥâḍarah*, vol. 2, p. 20; *Tabaqât ash-Shâfi'iyah*, vol. 4, p. 341
[235] Badawi, p. 252
[236] *Adh-Dhahab al-Masbook*, quoted in: Sayyid, p. 203
[237] Sayyid, p. 204
[238] Ibn al-Jawzi op. cit., vol. 8, p. 250; Sayyid, p. 204
[239] Ibn al-Jawzi, vol. 8, p. 278; Sayyid, p. 204
[240] Ibn al-Jawzi, vol. 8, pp. 524 & 611; Sayyid, p. 205
[241] Sayyid, p. 205
[242] Yoosuf, vol. 6, p. 105; Sayyid, p. 205
[243] Sayyid, *Târeekh Miṣr al-Islâmiyah*, p. 206; *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, pp. 157-158
[244] Sayyid, *Târeekh Miṣr al-Islâmiyah*, p. 206
[245] al-Jawzi, *Mar'ât az-Zamân*, vol. 8, p. 338; Sayyid, *Târeekh Miṣr al-Islâmiyah*, p. 207
[246] Sayyid, *Târeekh Miṣr al-Islâmiyah*, p. 207; *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, p. 30-31
[247] op. cit., p. 207
[248] Sayyid, p. 208
[249] ibid.
[250] op. cit., p. 209
[251] *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, p. 73; Sayyid, p. 210
[252] *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, p. 73; Sayyid, p. 210
[253] *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, p. 74
[254] Sayyid, p. 210
[255] ibid.
[256] Shams ad-Deen, Muhammad Ḥusayn, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shâ fee Ṣinâ'at al-Inshâ'*, vol. 1, p. 59, 61; Sayyid, p. 210
[257] Ibn al-Jawzi, vol. 8, p. 415, 416
[258] *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, p. 38-53
[259] Ibn al-Atheer op. cit., p. 158; Sayyid op. cit., p. 212
[260] Sayyid, p. 212
[261] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, pp. 127 &132
[262] Ibn Shaddâd, *an-Nawâdir as-Sulṭâniyah*, quoted in: Sayyid, p. 213
[263] al-'Imâd, *al-Fatḥ*, p. 191; Sayyid, p. 213
[264] *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, p. 80

[265] Ibn al-Jawzi, vol. 8, p. 388; Sayyid, p. 213
[266] Ibn Shaddâd, *an-Nawâdir as-Sulṭâniyah*, quoted in: Sayyid, p. 226
[267] *adh-Dhahab al-Masbook*, p. 70-73; Sayyid, p. 227
[268] Sayyid, p. 227
[269] *adh-Dhahab al-Masbook*, p. 76-79
[270] Sayyid, p. 232
[271] ibid.
[272] op. cit., p. 233
[273] Sayyid, *Târeekh Miṣr al-Islâmiyah*, p. 181
[274] op. cit., p. 53-77
[275] op. cit., p. 75
[276] op. cit., p. 77
[277] op. cit., p. 78
[278] Sayyid, p. 75
[279] op. cit., p. 77
[280] op. cit, p. 412-413
[281] al-Maqreezi, Taqi ad-Deen, *Al-Mawâ'idh wal I'tibâr bi Dhikr al-Khuṭaṭ wal Âthâr*, vol. 2, p. 341; Badawi, *at-Târeekh as-Siyâsi wal-Fikri*, p. 254
[282] *Târeekh ad-Dawlah al-Fâṭimiyah fil-Maghrib wa Miṣr wa Sooriya wa Bilâd al-'Arab*, p. 218
[283] al-Maqreezi op. cit. , vol. 2, p. 341; Badawi, p. 254
[284] al-Maqreezi, vol. 2, p. 341; Badawi, p. 254
[285] al-Maqreezi, vol. 2, p. 341; Badawi, p. 254
[286] op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 341, 342
[287] op. cit., vol. 2, p. 343; Badawi, p. 255
[288] *Tahdheer al-Muslimeen min al-Ibtidâ' wal-Bid'a fid-Deen*, p. 25
[289] Badawi, pp. 255-256
[290] *Midmâr al-Ḥaqâ'iq*, pp. 62-65; *Athar Juhood Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen at-Tarbawiyah fee Taghyeer Wâqi' al-Mujtama' al-Maṣri*, p. 82
[291] *Athar Juhood Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen at-Tarbawiyah fee Taghyeer Wâqi' al-Mujtama' al-Maṣri*, p. 83
[292] al-Maqdisi, vol. 2, p. 178
[293] al-Qalqashandi, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shâ*, vol. 3, pp. 144, 148
[294] op. c it., vol. 3, pp. 144, 148; *Athar Juhood Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen at-Tarbawiyah fee Taghyeer Wâqi' al-Mujtama' al-Maṣri*, p. 83
[295] ibid.
[296] aṣ-Ṣallabi, *'Aṣr ad-Dawlah az-Zankiyah*, p. 249; Khaleel, 'Imâd ad-Deen, *Noor ad-Deen Maḥmood: ar-Rajul wat-Tajrubah*, p. 249
[297] Ibn Shaddâd, *Seerat Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 256

[298] Ibn Shaddâd op. cit., p. 13, 28
[299] Badawi op. cit., p. 256
[300] al-Kaylâni, Mâjid 'Arsân, *Hâkadha Dhahara Jeel Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 262
[301] adh-Dhahabi, *Siyâr A'lâm an-Nubalâ'*, vol. 21, p. 339
[302] ibid.
[303] ibid.
[304] adh-Dhahabi op. cit., vol. 21, p. 340
[305] op. cit., vol. 21, p. 342
[306] ibid.
[307] ibid.
[308] ibid.
[309] adh-Dhahabi, vol. 21, p. 343
[310] al-Maqdisi op. cit., vol. 2, p. 241
[311] Shakeel, Hâdiyah Dajâni, *al-Qâḍi al-Fâḍil 'Abd ar-Raḥeem al-Baysâni*, p. 124
[312] Shakeel op. cit., p. 125
[313] ibid.
[314] ibid.
[315] op. cit., p. 126
[316] Shakeel op. cit., p. 126
[317] op. cit., p. 127
[318] op. cit., p. 129
[319] Shakeel op. cit., pp. 130-133
[320] op. cit., p. 134
[321] *an-Nadhm al-Mâliyah fee Miṣr Zaman al-Ayyoobiyeen*, pp. 80-93
[322] Shakeel op. cit., p. 135
[323] ibid.
[324] al-Maqreezi op. cit., vol. 2, p. 364
[325] Shakeel, p. 136
[326] al-Maqreezi, *Itti'âz al-Hunafa'*, vol. 3, p. 317
[327] al-Maqreezi, *Itti'âz al-Hunafâ' bi Akhbâr al-A'immah al-Fâṭimiyeen al-Khulafâ'*, vol. 3, p. 317
[328] op. cit., vol. 3, p. 318
[329] Shakeel, p. 137
[330] al-Maqreezi op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 325-326
[331] op. cit., vol. 3, p. 325
[332] Shakeel, p. 137
[333] al-Maqreezi, *Al-Mawâ'idh wal I'tibâr bi Dhikr al-Khuṭaṭ wal Âthâr,* vol. 1, pp. 431-432, p. 490

[334] *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn fee Akhbâr ad-Dawlatayn an-Nooriyah waṣ-Ṣalâḥiyah*, quoted in: Shakeel op. cit., p. 139
[335] Shakeel, p. 139
[336] al-Maqreezi op. cit., vol. 2, p. 266
[337] Shakeel, p. 141
[338] Shakeel, p. 157
[339] op. cit., p. 159
[340] Ibn Katheer, *Al-Bidâyah wan-Nihâyah*, quoted in: Naqli op. cit., p. 132
[341] Ibn Tagharri op. cit., vol. 6, p. 157
[342] al-Maqreezi op. cit., vol. 2, p. 366; Naqli op. cit., p. 132
[343] Ibn Khallikân op. cit., vol. 7, pp. 202-203
[344] Ibn al-Atheer, *Al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, vol. 10, p. 79
[345] Ibn Wâṣil op. cit., vol. 2, p. 68; Shakeel op. cit., p. 349
[346] *maqâmât*: a literary genre of rhymed prose, noted for its flowery and ornate style
[347] Shakeel, pp. 349-350
[348] op. cit., p. 350
[349] Shakeel op. cit., p. 344
[350] op. cit., p. 344
[351] op. cit., p. 345
[352] Ibn Khallikân, *Wafeeyât al-A'yân wa Anbâ' az-Zamân*, vol. 7, p. 205; Shakeel, p. 345
[353] Shakeel, p. 345
[354] al-Maqdisi op. cit., quoted in: Shakeel, p. 346
[355] Shakeel, p. 346
[356] Shakeel, p. 347
[357] ibid.
[358] ibid.
[359] ibid.
[360] al-Maqdisi, quoted in: Shakeel, p. 347
[361] Al-Kawthar: the name of a river in paradise, the banks of which are made of pearls
[362] ibid.
[363] al-Maqdisi, quoted in: Shakeel, p. 348
[364] Ibn Khallikân, vol. 1, p. 255; Ṣâliḥ, Ḥasan, *al-Ḥâfidh Abuaṭ-Ṭâhir as-Salafi*, p. 16
[365] adh-Dhahabi, Shams ad-Deen, *Siyâr A'lâm an-Nubalâ'*, quoted in: Ṣâliḥ, Ḥasan, — *Ḥâfidh Abu aṭ-Ṭâhir as-Salafi*, p. 16
[366] Ṣâliḥ, p. 96

[367] Ṣâliḥ, p. 97

[368] 'Âṣim: Abu Bakr 'Âṣim ibn Abi an-Nujood (d. 127 AH) — Ibn Khallikân, vol. 2, p. 224

[369] Ḥamzah: Ḥamzah ibn Ḥabeeb ibn 'Amârah who was known as *az-Zayyât*

[370] Qanoon: 'Eesâ ibn Wardân az-Zarqi who was known as Qânoon, the Qur'ân reciter of Madinah

[371] Qunbul: Qunbul 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn Khâlid al-Makki, who was head of the police force in Makkah

[372] Ṣâliḥ, p. 99

[373] Ṣâliḥ, p. 100

[374] op. cit., p. 101

[375] *al-I'lân bi Tawbeekh li man dhamma at-Târeekh*, p. 294

[376] Ṣâliḥ, p. 104

[377] ash-Shayyâl, *A'lâm al-Iskandariyah*, p. 137

[378] Ṣâliḥ, p. 105

[379] Ibn Khallikân, vol.2, p. 76

[380] *Târeekh ad-Dawlah al-Fâṭimiyah fee Miṣr*, p. 183

[381] *al-Ḥarakah al-Fikriyah fee Miṣr*, p. 158

[382] *Târeekh ad-Dawlah al-Fâṭimiyah*, p. 184

[383] Ṣâliḥ, p. 106

[384] op. cit., p. 107

[385] Ibn Wâṣil. vol. 1, p. 56

[386] Ṣâliḥ, p. 60

[387] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in: Ṣâliḥ op. cit., p. 61

[388] Ṣâliḥ, p. 61

[389] op. cit., p. 62

[390] 'Abd al-Wahhâb, Ḥasan, *Târeekh al-Masâjid al-Athariyah*, p. 67

[391] Ṣâliḥ, p. 62

[392] *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, p. 43

[393] Ṣâliḥ, p. 63

[394] op. cit., p. 114

[395] Al-Ḥanbali, Ibn al-'Imâd, *Shadharât adh-Dhahab*, vol. 4, p. 255

[396] Ṣâliḥ, p. 118

[397] op. cit., p. 119

[398] adh-Dhahabi, *Siyâr A'lâm an-Nubalâ'*, quoted in: Ṣâliḥ op. cit., p. 128

[399] Ṣâliḥ, p. 130

[400] op. cit., p. 130

[401] op. cit., p. 132

[402] op. cit., p. 134

[403] op. cit., p. 135
[404] Ṣâliḥ, p. 136
[405] Ṣâliḥ, p. 136
[406] ibid.
[407] al-Maqreezi, *Sulook ilâ Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulook*, quoted in: Ṣâliḥ, p. 137
[408] Ibn Shaddâd, *An-Nawâdir as-Sulṭâniyah*, p. 7; Ṣâliḥ, p. 138
[409] Ṣâliḥ, p. 138
[410] op. cit., p. 139
[411] op. cit., p. 170
[412] Ṣâliḥ, p. 173
[413] Ṣâliḥ, p. 254
[414] This was one of the ancient gates of the city of Alexandria, which was located on the west side.
[415] Ibn Khallikân, vol. 1, p. 221
[416] al-Maqdisi op. cit., quoted in: Ṣâliḥ, p. 255
[417] Ṣâliḥ, p. 255
[418] adh-Dhahabi op. cit., vol. 21, p. 122
[419] adh-Dhahabi, vol. 21, p. 123
[420] Farhoon, Ibn, *ad-Deebâj al-Mudhahhab*, p. 95
[421] al-Maqdisi, vol. 2, p. 24
[422] Harun al-Rashid, the Abbasid caliph
[423] al-Maqdisi, vol. 2, pp. 23, 24
[424] Ash-Shayyâl op. cit., p. 119
[425] Ibn Khallikân, vol. 2, p. 256; *Nukat al-Ḥamyân*, p. 185
[426] Ash-Shayyâl, p. 120
[427] op. cit., p. 120
[428] op. cit., p. 121
[429] Adh-Dhahabi, vol. 21, p. 122; *As-Sunnah an-Nabawiyah fil-Qarn as-Sâdis*, p. 677
[430] *Al-Asbâb wal-A'mâl allati Yuḍâ'af bihâ ath-Thawâb*, p. 74
[431] op. cit., p. 74
[432] adh-Dhahabi op. cit., vol. 21, p. 126
[433] aṣ-Ṣallabi, *'Aṣr ad-Dawlah az-Zankiyah*, p. 241
[434] aṣ-Ṣallabi, *'Aṣr ad-Dawlah az-Zankiyah*, p. 242; Ibn Khallikân, p. 242
[435] Ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir'ât az-Zamân fee Târeekh al-A'yân*, vol. 8, p. 283; aṣ-Ṣallabi op. cit., p. 243
[436] Jawdah, Ṣâdiq, *Al-Madâris al-'Aṣrooniyah fee Bilâd ash-Shâm*, p. 29
[437] al-Maqreezi, *as-Sulook*, quoting from Jawdah, op. cit., p. 29
[438] Ibn Wâṣil, vol. 2, p. 50; Jawdah, op. cit., p. 29

[439] Jawdah, Ṣâdiq, p. 31
[440] op. cit., p. 34
[441] Ibn Wâṣil, vol. 2, p. 50; Jawdah, p. 34
[442] al-Maqdisi op. cit., vol. 1, p. 231; Jawdah, p. 35
[443] op. cit., vol. 1, p. 231; op. cit, p. 35
[444] op. cit., vol. 1, p. 231; op. cit, p. 35
[445] Ibn Khallikân, vol. 3, p. 163; Jawdah, p. 36
[446] Jawdah, p. 36
[447] Jawdah, p. 37
[448] Ibn Wâṣil vol. 2, p. 50; Jawdah, p. 37
[449] al-Isfahâni, 'Imâd ad-Deen, *Sanâ al-Barq ash-Shâmi*, p. 113; Jawdah, p. 39
[450] *Sanâ al-Barq ash-Shâmi*, quoted in: Jawdah op. cit., p. 39
[451] Ibn Tagharri op. cit., vol. 6, p. 109; Jawdah, p. 122
[452] *Tabaqât ash-Shâfi'iyah*, vol. 7, p. 132; Jawdah, p. 122
[453] Jawdah, p. 122
[454] *Kharreedat al-Qaṣr, Shu'arâ' ash-Shâm* vol. 2, p. 351; Jawdah, p. 122
[455] Jawdah op. cit., p. 123
[456] ibid.
[457] ibid.
[458] op. cit., p. 124
[459] ibid.
[460] op. cit., p. 124
[461] ibid.
[462] op. cit., p. 126; Ibn Tagharri, vol. 6, p. 110
[463] Jawdah, p. 128
[464] al-Maqreezi, *as-Sulook*, vol. 1, pp. 63-64
[465] Naqli, Âsiyâ, *Dawr al-Fuqahâ' wal-'Ulamâ' fil-Jihâd ḍidd aṣ-Ṣaleebiyeen khilâl al-Ḥarakah aṣ-Ṣaleebiyah*, p. 135
[466] Ibn Khallikân, vol. 3, p. 54; Jawdah, p. 39
[467] Ibn Wâṣil, vol. 2, p. 51; *Nukat al-'Umyân*, p. 60
[468] Ibn Khallikân, vol. 3, p. 54; Jawdah, p. 41
[469] Ibn Wâṣil, vol. 2, pp. 67-68; Jawdah, p. 41
[470] Jawdah, p. 41
[471] adh-Dhahabi op. cit., vol. 21, p. 129
[472] Jawdah, p. 192
[473] Ibn Khallikân, vol. 3, p. 497; *Tabaqât ash-Shâfa'iyah*, vol. 7, p. 255
[474] Naqli op. cit., p. 123
[475] Ibn al-Atheer, *At-Târeekh al-Bâhir fid-Dawlah al-Atâbikiyah bil-Mawṣil*, p. 142

[476] Naqli op. cit., p. 124
[477] *Dawr al-'Ulamâ' fee Iṣlâḥ al-Mujtama' Zaman al-Ḥuroob aṣ-Ṣaleebiyah*, p. 62
[478] Naqli, p. 124
[479] al-Maqdisi op. cit., quoted in Naqli op. cit., p. 126
[480] Naqli, p. 127
[481] Ibn Wâṣil, vol. 2, pp. 168-169
[482] Naqli, p. 128
[483] op. cit., p. 129
[484] Ibn Khallikân, vol. 3, p. 498
[485] Ibn Wâṣil, vol. 2, pp. 59-60
[486] al-Maqdisi op. cit., quoted in Naqli op. cit., p. 125
[487] Knights Hospitaller: a Christian military religious order, of French origin
[488] Naqli, p. 125
[489] Ibn Khallikân, vol. 3, p. 497
[490] Ibn Khallikân, vol. 3, pp. 431-436
[491] Ibn Wâṣil, vol. 1, pp. 243-244
[492] Naqli, p. 130
[493] Ibn Khallikân, vol. 2, p. 530
[494] al-Maqreezi, *As-Sulook*, vol. 1, pp. 74-75; Naqli op. cit., p. 130
[495] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 1, pp. 244-245
[496] Ibn al-Atheer, *Al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in Naqli, p. 131
[497] al-Maqdisi op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 219-224
[498] Naqli, p. 131
[499] The name of a prominent Companion of the Prophet (ﷺ) [Editor]
[500] Ibn Rajab, Zayn ad-Deen, *Adh-Dhayl 'alâ Tabaqât al-Ḥanâbilah* —, vol. 1, pp. 437-438
[501] al-Maqdisi, quoted in: al-Kaylâni op. cit., p. 282
[502] al-Maqdisi op. cit., quoted in: al-Kaylâni, p. 283
[503] al-Kaylâni, p. 283
[504] al-Maqdisi op. cit., quoted in: al-Kaylâni, p. 284
[505] al-Kaylâni, p. 284
[506] Ibn Khallikân, vol. 2, p. 530
[507] adh-Dhahabi, *Siyâr A'lâm an-Nubalâ'*, vol. 21, p. 345
[508] adh-Dhahabi op. cit., vol. 21, p. 346
[509] 'Asi, Ḥusayn, *al-'Imâd al-Isfahâni*, p. 21
[510] op. cit., pp. 21-22
[511] *Sanâ al-Barq ash-Shâmi*, p. 52; al-'Asi op. cit., p. 24
[512] *Irshâd al-Adeeb*, vol. 7, p. 85

513 Ibn Khallikân, vol. 5, p. 152
514 The translation of the phrase '*al-Barq ash-Shâmi*', which is from the title of al-Isfahâni's famous book (Translator)
515 al-Maqdisi op. cit., quoted in al-'Asi op. cit., p. 26
516 al-'Asi op. cit., p. 27
517 adh-Dhahabi op. cit., vol. 21, p. 204
518 as-Subki, *Tabaqât*, vol. 7, p. 15; adh-Dhahabi op. cit., vol. 21, p. 205
519 Zakkâr, *al-Mawsoo'ah ash-Shâmilah fee Târeekh al-Ḥuroob aṣ-Ṣaleebiyah*, vol. 25, pp. 427-428
520 *mizr*: a brewed (alcoholic) drink made from corn, or it was said, from barley or wheat.
521 adh-Dhahabi, vol. 21, p. 207
522 ibid.
523 ibid.
524 Naqli, p. 138
525 Ibn Shaddâd op. cit., p. 7; Naqli, p. 138
526 Naqli, p. 138
527 op. cit., p. 139
528 'Ulwân, 'Abdullâh, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayyoobi Baṭal al-Islâm aṣ-Ṣâliḥ*, p. 175
529 'Ulwân op. cit., p. 176
530 'Ulwân op. cit., p. 177
531 ibid.
532 Sâlim, 'Abd al-'Azeez, *Al-Funoon al-Islâmiyah fil-'Aṣr al-Ayyoobi,* vol. 1, p. 54
533 Sâlim op. cit., vol. 1, p. 55
534 Sâlim, vol. 1, p. 55
535 op. cit., vol. 2, p. 139
536 *'Umrân al-Qâhirah wa Khuṭaṭihâ fee 'Âhd Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, pp. 227-333
537 op. cit., pp. 249-252
538 Sâlim, vol. 2, p. 143
539 Tanees is of the most beautiful cities; it is an island near the sea in Egypt, between Farma and Damietta.
540 Sâlim, vol. 21, p. 145
541 op. cit., vol. 2, p. 146
542 op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 146-148
543 *jizyah*: a tax levied on the people of the Scriptures when they are under the protection of a Muslim government; it is in lieu of the alms tax paid by Muslims

[544] *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Fâris al-Mujâhid wal-Malik az-Zâhid*, p. 388
[545] ibid.
[546] ibid.
[547] *dhimmi*: protected or covenanted people; non-Muslims who must pay the jizyah in lieu of zakât
[548] *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Fâris al-Mujâhid wal-Malik az-Zâhid*, p. 389
[549] ibid.
[550] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr wa Bilâd ash-Shâm*, p. 214
[551] 'Abd ar-Razzâq, 'Abdullâh, *al-Mustashfayât al-Islâmiyah*, p. 236
[552] *Târeekh al-Bimâristânât fil-Islâm*, p. 76-77
[553] 'Abd ar-Razzâq op. cit., p. 236
[554] ibid.
[555] 'Abd ar-Razzâq, p. 237
[556] op. cit., p. 337
[557] op. cit., p. 338
[558] op. cit., p. 339
[559] op. cit., p. 250
[560] op. cit., pp. 251-253
[561] op. cit., p. 255
[562] 'Aṭiyah, Jameel, *Tandheem Ṣinâ'at at-Ṭibb Khilâl Uṣoor al-Ḥaḍârah al-'Arabiyah al-Islâmiyah*, p. 522
[563] *Al-Khanqawât as-Ṣoofiyah fee Miṣr fil-'Aṣrayn al-Ayyoobi wal-Mamlooki*, vol. 1, p. 22
[564] ibid.
[565] op. cit., vol. 1, p. 23
[566] op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 23-24
[567] ash-Shâmi, Aḥmad, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen waṣ-Ṣaleebiyeen*, p. 81
[568] Ibn al-Atheer, *Al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in al-Khaṭeeb, As'ad, *Al-Buṭoolah wal-Fidâ' 'inda as-Ṣoofiyah: Dirâsah Târeekhiyah*, p. 103
[569] Ibn Katheer, *Al-Bidâyah wan-Nihâyah*, quoted in: al-Khaṭeeb op. cit., p. 103
[570] Ibn Khallikân, vol. 1, p. 257
[571] *ribâṭ*: a small fortification built along a border during the early part of the Muslim conquest of North Africa to house military volunteers, called *murâbiṭoon*. These fortifications later served to protect commercial routes, as hostels, hospices, and spiritual retreats. (Editor)
[572] Shams ad-Deen, Muhammad, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shâ*, vol. 3, p. 417
[573] al-Maqreezi, *al-Khutat*, vol. 2, p. 417; al-Khaṭeeb op. cit., p. 104
[574] *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, p. 46; al-Khaṭeeb op. cit., p. 105

575 *Al-Fatḥ al-Qâṣiy fil-Fatḥ al-Qudsi*, p. 145
576 Ibn Khallikân, vol. 7, p. 179
577 *Tatimmah al-Mukhtaṣar fee Akhbâr al-Bashar*, vol. 2, p. 147
578 al-Khaṭeeb op. cit., p. 106
579 Ibn Shaddâd, *An-Nawâdir as-Sultâniyah wal-Mahâsin al-Yoosufeeyah*, pp. 6-16
580 al-Khaṭeeb op. cit., p. 107
581 Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr wa Bilâd ash-Shâm wal-Jazeerah*, p. 215
582 al-Khaṭeeb op. cit., p. 108
583 al-Maqreezi, Taqi ad-Deen, *Al-Mawâ'idh wal I'tibâr bi Dhikr al-Khuṭaṭ wal Âthâr*, vol. 2, pp. 415-416
584 Badawi, 'Abd al-Majeed, *At-Târeekh as-Siyâsi wal-Fikri lil-Madh-hab as-Sunni fil-Mashriq al-Islâmi min al-Qarn al-Khâmis al-Hijri ḥattâ Suqoot Baghdâd*, p. 240
585 Badawi op. cit., p. 240
586 *dhikr*: remembrance of Allah; specifically, remembering Allah through praising and supplicating to Him
587 Badawi op. cit., p. 240
588 Nasih, 'Abdullâh, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayyoobi*, p. 178
589 'Ulwân, 'Abdullâh. *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayyoobi Baṭal al-Islâm aṣ-Ṣâliḥ*, p. 179, quoting al-Maqreezi, *Al-Mawâ'idh wal I'tibâr bi Dhikr al-Khuṭaṭ wal Âthâr*
590 'Ulwân, op. cit., p. 180
591 'Ulwân op. cit., p. 181
592 ibid.
593 'Ulwân op. cit., p. 181
594 'Ulwân op. cit., p. 168
595 op. cit., p. 168
596 This was an instrument that measured the Nile's increases and decreases in water volume.
597 op. cit., p. 170
598 ibid.
599 'al-Ḥârithi, Adnân, *'Umrân al-Qâhirah wa Khuṭaṭuhâ fee 'Âhd Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayyoobi*, pp. 40-69
600 *Faḍl al-Muslimeen 'alâ al-Ḥaḍârah al-Urubbiyah*, p. 228
601 Shams ad-Deen, *Subh al-A'sha*, vol. 4, p. 50; al-Ḥârithi op. cit., p. 224
602 al-Ḥârithi op. cit., p. 224
603 Hamzah, 'Abd al-Laṭeef, *al-Ḥarakah al-Fikriyah fee Miṣr*, p. 48

[604] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 211
[605] op. cit., p. 211
[606] *Târeekh al-Anbiyâ'*, p. 212
[607] 'Azzâm, *Ḥukum Qaraqoosh*, p. 14
[608] *Wafiyât al-A'yân*, quoted in: 'Azzâm, *Ḥukam Qaraqoosh*, p. 15
[609] Ibn Katheer, quoted in: 'Azzâm, *Ḥukam Qaraqoosh*, p. 15
[610] 'Azzâm, *Ḥukum Qaraqoosh*, p. 15
[611] Ḥamzah, 'Abd al-Laṭeef, *Al-Fashoosh fee Aḥkâm Qaraqoosh li Ibn Mamâti*, p. 34
[612] 'Azzâm, *Ḥukum Qaraqoosh*, p. 19
[613] op. cit., p. 22
[614] *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, p. 52
[615] 'Azzâm, *Ḥukum Qaraqoosh*, p. 24
[616] op. cit., p. 23; al-Maqreezi, *al-Khutat at-Tawfeeqiyah*, vol. 1, p. 69
[617] 'Azzâm, *Ḥukum Qaraqoosh*, p. 26
[618] Ḥamzah op. cit., p. 40
[619] 'Azzâm, *Ḥukum Qaraqoosh*, p. 27
[620] ibid.
[621] Al-Hanbali, *Shadharât adh-Dhahab*, vol. 4, pp. 331, 332
[622] Ibn Tagharri, vol. 4, p. 39; 'Azzâm, *Ḥukum Qaraqoosh*, p. 28
[623] 'Azzâm, *Ḥukum Qaraqoosh*, p. 29
[624] op. cit., p. 41
[625] ibid.
[626] ibid.
[627] op. cit., p. 47
[628] *Qaraqoosh wa Nawâdiruhu*, p. 69; 'Azzâm, *Ḥukum Qaraqoosh*, p. 53
[629] 'Ulwân, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayyoobi, Suqoot al-Quds wa Taḥreeruhâ*, pp. 94-95
[630] Fiefs (*iqtâ'ât* or land grants). This refers to allocation of land and its resources and income to an individual so as to facilitate his service to the state, especially military service.
[631] al-Maqreezi op. cit., vol. 1, p. 97
[632] Al-Ghamidi, 'Abdullâh, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen waṣ-Ṣaleebiyoon*, p. 102
[633] Ibn Wâṣil, vol. 2, p. 139
[634] ibid.
[635] Ibn Tagharri, vol. 6, p. 94
[636] Ibn Wâṣil, vol. 2, p. 381; al-Ghâmiḍi, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen waṣ-Ṣaleebiyoon*, p. 102
[637] *An-Nudhum al-Mâliyah fee Miṣr Zamân al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 29

638 al-Ghâmiḍi, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen waṣ-Ṣaleebiyoon*, p. 103
639 op. cit., p. 103
640 op. cit., p. 104
641 op. cit., p. 105
642 al-Maqreezi op. cit., vol. 1, p. 101; *An-Nudhum al-Mâliyah fee Miṣr Zamân al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 34
643 Ibn Tagharri, vol. 6, p. 29; al-Ghâmiḍi, p. 106
644 al-Maqreezi, *as-Sulook*, vol. 1, p. 64, 65; al-Ghâmiḍi, p. 107
645 al-Ghâmiḍi, p. 107
646 Ibn Wâṣil, quoted in al-Ghâmiḍi op. cit., p. 107
647 *An-Nudhum al-Mâliyah fee Miṣr Zamân al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 40
648 al-Ghâmiḍi, p. 120
649 Ḥusayn, *Al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi fee 'Âhd Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*p. 120
650 Ḥusayn op. cit., p. 120
651 Ibn Khallikân, vol. 4, pp. 6-7
652 *An-Nudhum al-Mâliyah fee Miṣr Zamân al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 62; al-Ghâmiḍi, p. 110
653 al-Ghâmiḍi, p. 110
654 Al-Maqreezi, *Al-Mawâ'idh wal I'tibâr bi Dhikr al-Khuṭaṭ wal Âthâr*, vol. 1, p. 215; al-Ghâmiḍi, p. 110
655 Ḥusayn op. cit., p. 122
656 Ḥusayn, p. 122
657 ibid.
658 Ibn Wâṣil, vol. 2, p. 256; Ḥusayn op. cit., p. 127
659 Ḥusayn, p. 127
660 al-Isfahâni, 'Imâd ad-Deen, *Sanâ al-Barq ash-Shâmi*, vol. 1, p. 253
661 Ḥusayn, p. 127
662 *Al-Fatḥ al-Qâṣiy fil-Fatḥ al-Qudsi*, p. 417; Ḥusayn, p. 128
663 Ibn Wâṣil, vol. 2, p. 330
664 Ḥusayn, p. 128
665 op. cit., p. 129
666 ibid.
667 al-Maqdisi, quoted in: Ḥusayn op. cit., p. 129
668 al-Hâshimi, Ṭa-Ha, *al-Jughrâfiyah al-'Askariyah*, p. 83
669 Ḥusayn op. cit., p. 143
670 Ḥusayn, p. 144
671 ibid.
672 Ibn Wâṣil, vol. 2, p. 295; Ḥusayn, p. 146
673 Ibn al-Atheer, *Al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in: Ḥusayn op. cit., p. 148

[674] Ḥusayn op. cit., p. 149
[675] ibid.
[676] ibid.
[677] al-Maqdisi op. cit., quoted in:Ḥusayn, p. 149
[678] Ibn Tagharri, vol. 6, p. 124; Ḥusayn, p. 149
[679] Ḥusayn, p. 150
[680] op. cit., p. 151
[681] op. cit., p. 153
[682] ibid.
[683] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi fee 'Ahd Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 154
[684] op. cit., p. 155
[685] Hindi, Ihsan, *al-Ḥayât al-'Askariyah 'inda al-'Arab*, p. 166
[686] al-Hashimi, Ta-Ha, *Duroos fil-Ma'loomât al-Jughrâfiyah*, p. 18
[687] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi fee 'Ahd Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 155
[688] ibid.
[689] A testudo formation is a style of formation in which shields are used to protect an entire battalion as a whole from arrows.
[690] flame-throwers
[691] op. cit., p. 156
[692] One type of banner was a large flag with a tassel of hair at the top.
[693] Ḥusayn op. cit., p. 156
[694] *Jawoosh* is a Turkish word meaning 'the caller.'
[695] Ibn Wâṣil, vol. 2, pp. 395-396; Ḥusayn, p. 157
[696] Ibn Katheer, *al-Bidâyah wan-Nihâyah*, quoted in: Ḥusayn op. cit., p. 158
[697] Ḥusayn, p. 160
[698] al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Târeekh Dimashq*, p. 340; Ḥusayn, p. 160
[699] *Sanâ al-Barq ash-Shâmi*, vol. 1, p. 336; Ḥusayn, p. 161
[700] Ḥusayn, p. 161
[701] al-Maqdisi op. cit., quoted in: Ḥusayn, p, 162
[702] Ibn al-Atheer, *Al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in: Ḥusayn op. cit., p. 162
[703] Ḥusayn, p. 163
[704] op. cit., p. 161
[705] al-Maqdisi, quoted in: Ḥusayn, p. 163
[706] Ibn Wâṣil, vol. 2, p. 167; Ḥusayn, p. 163
[707] Ḥusayn op. cit., p. 163
[708] Ḥusayn, p. 164
[709] Ḥusayn, p. 165
[710] ibid.
[711] ibid.

[712] *Al-Fatḥ al-Qâṣiy fil-Fatḥ al-Qudsi*, p. 576; Ḥusayn, p. 165
[713] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 166
[714] ibid.
[715] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 368; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 166
[716] Ibn Shaddâd op. cit., p. 149; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 166
[717] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 167
[718] ibid.
[719] *Ṣubḥ al-A'shâ fee Ṣinâ'at al-Inshâ'*, vol. 4, p. 13
[720] Ḥusayn op. cit., p. 167
[721] Ibn Wâṣil, vol. 2, pp. 373-374
[722] Ḥusayn op. cit., p. 168
[723] Ḥusayn, p. 168
[724] *Ṣubḥ al-A'shâ fee Ṣinâ'at al-Inshâ'*, vol. 4, p. 8; Ḥusayn op. cit., p. 168
[725] Ḥusayn op. cit., p. 168
[726] *Al-Fatḥ al-Qâṣiy fil-Fatḥ al-Qudsi*, p. 103; Ḥusayn, p. 169
[727] Ibn Wâṣil op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 83-84; Ḥusayn, p. 169
[728] Ibn Khallikân, vol. 7, p. 211; Ḥusayn, p. 170
[729] Ḥusayn, p. 170
[730] ibid; Ibn Wâṣil, vol. 2, p. 343
[731] Ḥusayn, p. 170
[732] op. cit., p. 171
[733] al-Maqdisi, quoted in Ḥusayn op. cit., p. 175
[734] Ḥusayn, p. 175
[735] op. cit., p. 176
[736] ibid.
[737] Ibn Shaddâd op. cit., p. 134; Ḥusayn, p. 176
[738] Ḥusayn, p. 176
[739] op. cit., p. 178
[740] Ḥusayn, *Al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 178
[741] *al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in: Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 178
[742] Ibn Shaddâd, *an-Nawâdir*, p. 192; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 178
[743] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 179
[744] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in: Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 179
[745] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 179
[746] Ibn Shaddâd, *an-Nawâdir*, p. 212
[747] Maḥmood, *al-Fatḥ al-Qâsiy*, p. 522
[748] Ibn Shaddâd, *an-Nawâdir*, p. 93; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 179

[749] Ḥusayn, al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi, p. 180
[750] ibid.
[751] ibid.
[752] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in: Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 180
[753] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 181
[754] *Dâ'irat al-Ma'ârif*, vol. 7, p. 168; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 181
[755] Shams ad-Deen, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shâ'*, vol. 14, p. 390
[756] Ḥusn al-Muhâdarah, vol. 2,p. 166; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 181
[757] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 181
[758] Qatya: a town on the way from Egypt in the middle of the sand near Farma
[759] Qanoon: a fortress in Palestine near Ramlah, approximately half a day's travel from Caesarea
[760] Dameen: a village on the outskirts of Damascus, near Hoorân
[761] Adhra'ât: a city on the edge of Syria, near Balqân and 'Ammân
[762] Qârah: a large town on the main road. It was the first stage from Homs.
[763] Shams ad-Deen, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shâ'*, vol. 14, p. 493
[764] *Târeekh al-Mudun al-Islâmiyah*, vol. 1, p. 233; *al-Ḥayât al-'Askariyah*, p. 217
[765] Maḥmood, *al-Fatḥ@ al-Qâsiy*, p. 360
[766] *Sanâ al-Barq ash-Shâmi*, vol. 1, p.260
[767] *al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in: Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 187
[768] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi fee 'Ahd Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 188
[769] op. cit., p. 188
[770] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi fee 'Ahd Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 189
[771] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi fee 'Ahd Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 191
[772] op. cit., p. 193
[773] op. cit., p. 197
[774] op. cit., p. 203
[775] op. cit., p. 205
[776] op. cit., p. 206
[777] op. cit., p. 206
[778] op. cit., p. 208
[779] *Sanâ al-Barq ash-Shâmi* vol. 1, p. 331; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 209
[780] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 80
[781] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 208

[782] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in: Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 208
[783] op. cit., p. 209
[784] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 209
[785] op. cit., p. 210
[786] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, quoted in: Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 209
[787] A fortified town east of Tyre — *Mu'jam al-Buldân*.
[788] Ḥusayn, *Al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 210
[789] *al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in: Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 210
[790] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 210
[791] op. cit., p. 211; Maḥmood, *al-Fatḥ al-Qâsiy*, p. 560
[792] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 211
[793] op. cit., p. 212
[794] op. cit., p. 212
[795] Maḥmood, *al-Fatḥ al-Qâsiy*, p. 550; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 212
[796] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 212
[797] op. cit., p. 213
[798] op. cit., p. 213
[799] Ibn Khallikân, *Wafiyât al-A'yân*, vol. 7, p. 199; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 213
[800] *Shifâ' al-Quloob*, quoted in: Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 213
[801] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 264.
[802] Ḥusayn, *Al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 214
[803] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in: Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 214
[804] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 214
[805] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 216
[806] op. cit., p. 218
[807] op. cit., p. 219
[808] op. cit., p. 220; Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 246
[809] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in: Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 220
[810] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 221
[811] ibid.
[812] Ibn Khallikân, *Wafiyât al-A'yân*, vol. 7, p. 157
[813] Maḥmood, *al-Fatḥ al-Qâsiy*, p. 247; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 221
[814] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 221
[815] op. cit., p. 222

[816] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in: Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 224
[817] Ibn Shaddâd, *an-Nawâdir*, p. 238; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 224
[818] *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, p. 280; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 2250 [sic]
[819] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 226
[820] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 226
[821] op. cit., p. 227
[822] ibid.
[823] op. cit., p. 237
[824] Mubarak, 'Ali, *al-Khuṭaṭ at-Tawfeeqiyah*, p. 70
[825] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in: Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 238
[826] *Sanâ al-Barq ash-Shâmi*, vol. 1, p. 195; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 239
[827] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 239
[828] op. cit., p. 264
[829] Maḥmood, *al-Fatḥ al-Qâsiy*, p. 350
[830] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 264
[831] op. cit., p. 266-290
[832] op. cit., p. 323
[833] op. cit., p. 324
[834] an-Nuwayhid, Waleed, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayyoobi*, p. 94, 95
[835] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 352
[836] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in: Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 353
[837] op. cit., p. 354
[838] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 354
[839] Ibn Jubayr, p. 34; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 357
[840] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 357
[841] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 357; *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, p. 34
[842] al-Maqreezi, *al-Khutat*, vol. 2, p. 86; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 358
[843] *Târeekh Ibn Khaldoon*, vol. 5, p. 655; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 358
[844] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 127; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 358
[845] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 358
[846] op. cit., p. 359
[847] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 359
[848] ibid.

[849] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 360
[850] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 360
[851] ibid.
[852] ibid.
[853] ibid.
[854] Maḥmood, *al-Fatḥ al-Qâsiy*, p. 341; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 360
[855] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 361
[856] Ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir'ât az-Zamân*, vol. 8, p. 389; Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 185
[857] *Midmâr al-Ḥaqâ'iq*, p. 50; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 361
[858] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 361
[859] *Al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in: Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 363
[860] *Târeekh al-Baḥriyah al-Islâmiyah*, p. 363
[861] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 363
[862] ibid.
[863] ibid.
[864] Maḥmood, *al-Fatḥ al-Qâsiy*, p. 161
[865] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 363
[866] Al-Maqreezi, *al-Khuṭaṭ*, vol. 2, p. 193
[867] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 332
[868] op. cit., p. 333
[869] op. cit., p. 333
[870] Aḥsan at-Taqâseem, quoted in: Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 333
[871] al-Maqreezi, *al-Khuṭaṭ*, vol. 2, p. 193; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 334
[872] al-Maqreezi, *al-Khuṭaṭ*, vol. 2, p. 194; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 334
[873] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 335
[874] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in: Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 335
[875] Ibn Khallikân, *Wafiyyât al-A'yân*, vol. 4, p. 91; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 335
[876] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 336
[877] op. cit., p. 339
[878] ibid.
[879] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in: Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 337
[880] Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 337
[881] Al-Maqreezi, *al-Khuṭaṭ*, vol. 2, p. 194; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 338
[882] Ibn Shaddâd, *an-Nawâdir*, p. 22; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 338

[883] Ibn Shaddâd, *an-Nawâdir*, p. 22; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 338
[884] al-Maqreezi, *al-Khuṭaṭ*, vol. 2, p. 189; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 338
[885] *al-Istiqsâ li Akhbâr Duwal al-Maghrib al-Aqṣâ*, vol. 2, p. 163; *Buḥooth Târeekh al-Ḥaḍârah*, p. 89
[886] *Buḥooth fee Târeekh al-Ḥaḍârah al-Islâmiyah*, p. 85
[887] *Bilâd al-Ḥijâz mundhu Bidâyat 'Ahd al-Ashrâf*, p. 44
[888] al-Ghâmiḍi, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen waṣ-Ṣaleebiyeen*, p. 153
[889] *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Fâris al-Mujâhid wal-Malik az-Zâhid*, p. 145
[890] op. cit., p. 46; al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 327
[891] *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Fâris al-Mujâhid wal-Malik az-Zâhid*, p. 146
[892] ibid.
[893] William of Tyre, vol. 20, p. 973; *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Fâris al-Mujâhid*, p. 146.
[894] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in: *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 146
[895] *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Fâris al-Mujâhid*, p. 147
[896] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 587
[897] op. cit., vol. 2, p. 586; *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Fâris al-Mujâhid*, p. 147
[898] *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Mujâhid wal-Malik az-Zâhid*, p. 148
[899] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Mujâhid*, p. 148
[900] *al-Bâhir*, pp. 162-163; *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Mujâhid*, p. 148
[901] Ibn al-Atheer, *al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, vol. 11, pp. 405-406
[902] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 589; *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Mujâhid*, p. 149
[903] *Sanâ al-Barq ash-Shâmi*, vol. 1, p. 168; *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 149
[904] *Sanâ al-Barq ash-Shâmi*, vol. 1, p. 234; *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 150
[905] *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Mujâhid wal-Malik az-Zâhid*, p. 150
[906] *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Mujâhid wal-Malik az-Zâhid*, p. 151
[907] ibid.
[908] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 589; *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 151
[909] *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Fâris al-Mujâhid*, p. 151
[910] Ibn al-Atheer, *al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Fâris al-Mujâhid*, p. 152
[911] *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Fâris al-Mujâhid*, p. 152
[912] ibid.
[913] ibid.
[914] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr*, p. 56
[915] *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Fâris al-Mujâhid*, p. 153

[916] *Sanâ al-Barq ash-Shâmi*, quoted in *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Malik al-Mujâhid*, p. 156
[917] *Dawr al-Mudun al-Filasṭeeniyah fee Muqâwamah al-Ghazw aṣ-Ṣaleebi*, p. 53
[918] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 361
[919] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 361
[920] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-RawḍataynRawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 365
[921] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 365
[922] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 367
[923] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 368
[924] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr wash-Shâm*, p. 84
[925] op. cit., p. 84
[926] op. cit., p. 56
[927] *Dawr al-Mudun al-Filasṭeeniyah fee Muqâwamah al-Ghazw aṣ-Ṣaleebi*, p. 53
[928] al-Hanbali, *Shadharât adh-Dhahab fee Akhbâr min Dhahab*, vol. 4, p. 243
[929] op. cit., vol. 4, p. 243
[930] Ibn Tagharri, vol. 1, p. 25
[931] *Sanâ al-Barq ash-Shâmi*, p. 77; *Al-Fikr as-Sooqi al-Ayyoobi*, p. 77
[932] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr wash-Shâm*, p. 56
[933] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 344
[934] Ibn al-Atheer, *al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in: Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 56
[935] *Kanz ad-Durar*, vol. 7, pp. 58-59
[936] Ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir'ât az-Zamân*, vol. 8, p. 327; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 57
[937] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr wa Bilâd al-Shâm*, p. 57
[938] Ibn al-'Adeem, vol. 2, p. 520
[939] Taqqoosh,*Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr wa Bilâd ash-Shâm*, p. 57
[940] Ibn Katheer, *al-Bidâyah wan-Nihâyah*, quoted in: Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 58
[941] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 824
[942] 'Ashoor, *al-Ḥarakah aṣ-Ṣaleebiyah*, vol. 2, p. 744; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Zankiyeen*, p. 58
[943] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, pp. 350, 351
[944] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh az-Zankiyeen fee Miṣr wa Bilâd ash-Shâm*, p. 59
[945] Ibn al-Atheer, *al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in: Taqqoosh, *Târeekh az-Zankiyeen*, p. 59
[946] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 346

[947] op. cit., vol. 2, p. 346; *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Malik al-Mujâhid*, p. 159
[948] *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Malik al-Mujâhid*: p. 161
[949] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, pp. 348-349
[950] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar- Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, pp. 357-366
[951] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr wa Bilâd ash-Shâm*, p. 60
[952] op. cit., p. 60, quoted in al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 381
[953] *al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in: Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 60
[954] al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 378
[955] op. cit., vol. 2, p. 379
[956] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr wa Bilâd ash-Shâm*, p. 61
[957] ibid.
[958] al-Ma'arrah: a large city belonging to Homs, between Aleppo and Hamah
[959] Kafar Tâb: A town between al-Ma'arrah and Aleppo. Al-Hamawi, vol. 4, p. 470
[960] Ibn Shaddâd, *an-Nawâdir as-Sulṭâniyah*, p. 94
[961] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr wa Bilâd ash-Shâm*, p.61
[962] ibid.
[963] *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Fâris al-Mujâhid*, p. 170
[964] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 36; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 62
[965] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr wa Bilâd ash-Shâm*, p. 62
[966] op. cit., p. 63
[967] Hasankeyf: a large city in southeastern Turkey
[968] Ibn al-'Adeem, vol. 2, p. 523
[969] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr wa Bilâd ash-Shâm*, p. 63
[970] Nusaybin: a populous city in Mesopotamia on the caravan route from Mosul to Syria.
[971] Bira: a town near Sumaysât, between Aleppo and the Byzantine border; it is a fortified citadel.
[972] Ibn al-Atheer, *Al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in: Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 63
[973] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 38; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 63
[974] William of Tyre, vol. 2, p. 986; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 64
[975] Shayzar: in Syria, near al-Ma'arrah, between it and Hamah
[976] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr wa Bilâd ash-Shâm*, p. 64
[977] op. cit., p. 64
[978] op. cit., p. 65

979 Ibn Shaddâd, *an-Nawâdir as-Sulṭâniyah*, p. 95; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 65
980 'Azâz: a small town north of Aleppo in which there is a citadel
981 Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 46; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 65
982 i.e., to alert the female occupants to their presence (Editor)
983 Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr was Bilâd ash-Shâm*, p. 66
984 Ibn al-Atheer, *al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, vol. 9, pp. 446-447
985 Surooj: a city near Harrân in Diyar Mudar, according to al-Hamawi, vol. 3, p. 216
986 Ibn Katheer, *al-Bidâyah wan-Nihâyah*, vol. 16, p. 553
987 Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr wa Bilâd ash-Shâm*, p. 69
988 Hârim: a strong fortress near Antioch; it now comes under the jurisdiction of Aleppo
989 Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, pp. 110-112; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 70
990 Ibn al-Atheer, *al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 70
991 Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr wa Bilâd ash-Shâm*, p. 70
992 Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 119; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 71
993 *Jazeerat Ibn 'Umar*: a city above Mosul; there is three days' distance between the two. Al-Hamawi, vol. 2, p. 138
994 Ibn al-Atheer, *al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in: Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 71
995 Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 71
996 Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 1, p. 122; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 71
997 Azerbaijan: a vast region the capital of which is Tabriz. Al-Hamawi, vol. 1, p. 128
998 Hamadhân: a large city in the region of al-Jibâl.
999 Khallât: a well-known, populous city with many agricultural resources
1000 Ibn al-Atheer, *al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in: Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 72
1001 Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 72
1002 Ibn al-Atheer, *al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in: Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 72
1003 Badlees: a city on the border of Armenia, near Khallât. Al-Hamawi, vol. 1, p. 358

[1004] Arzan: a famous city near Khallât
[1005] Gregory of Malta, *Târeekh az-Zamân*, p. 199
[1006] Ra's al-'Ayn: a large, well known city of Mesopotamia, between Harrân and Nusaybin
[1007] Ibn al-Atheer, *al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in: Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 73
[1008] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr wa Bilâd ash-Shâm*, p. 73
[1009] ibid.
[1010] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr wa Bilâd ash-Shâm*, p. 73
[1011] op. cit., p. 74
[1012] 'Ayntab: a strong citadel between Aleppo and Antioch; it was also known as Badlook.
[1013] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fish-Shâm*, p. 74
[1014] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 142; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 75
[1015] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 75
[1016] Shahrazoor: a large town in the mountains between Irbil and Hamadhân
[1017] Daqooqa: a city between Irbil and Baghdad Al-Hamawi, vol. 2, p. 459
[1018] Ibn Shaddâd, *an-Nawâdir as-Sulṭâniyah*, p. 111, 112; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 76
[1019] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, pp. 155, 156; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 76
[1020] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 76
[1021] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 76. See: *Mujâhid ad-Deen Qaymâz Nâ'ib Irbid wa Mosul*
[1022] ibid.
[1023] Dunaysar: a large town on the edge of Mesopotamia, near Mardin
[1024] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 166
[1025] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 166; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 77
[1026] Ibn al-Atheer, *al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, vol. 10, pp. 5, 6; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 78
[1027] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 78
[1028] ibid.
[1029] Ibn al-Atheer, *al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 79
[1030] Ibn Shaddâd, *an-Nawâdir as-Sulṭâniyah*, p. 117, 118
[1031] Âmid: the largest city of Diyar Bakr
[1032] al-Atheer, *al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, vol. 10, pp. 8, 9; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-*

Ayyoobiyeen, p. 80

[1033] *Al-Fikr as-Sooqi al-Ayyoobi*, p. 161

[1034] Ibn Shaddâd, *an-Nawâdir as-Sulṭâniyah*, p. 119; Taqqosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 80

[1035] *Al-Fikr as-Sooqi al-Ayyoobi*, p. 162

[1036] Ibn Shaddâd, *an-Nawâdir as-Sulṭâniyah*, p. 163

[1037] *Al-Fikr as-Sooqi al-Ayyoobi*, p. 163

[1038] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen fee Miṣr wa Bilâd ash-Shâm*, p. 81

[1039] *sadaqah*: voluntary charity

[1040] *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Fâris al-Mujâhid wal-Malik az-Zâhid*, p. 230

[1041] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 96

[1042] Fawzi & Ḥusayn, *Al-Khilâfah al-'Abbâsiyah*, vol. 2, p. 188

[1043] Taqqoosh, Dr. Muhammad, *Târeekh al-Fâṭimiyeen*, p. 392, 393

[1044] op. cit., p. 393

[1045] ibid.

[1046] Fawzi & Ḥusayn, *Al-Khilâfah al-'Abbâsiyah*, vol. 2, p. 188

[1047] Qazvin: a city in Iran 165 km northwest of Tehran

[1048] *Ḥarakat al-Hashâshiyeen*, p. 65, 66

[1049] an-Nâṣir, *al-Jihad wat-Tajdeed fil-Qarn al-Sâdis al-Hijri*, p. 32

[1050] as-Sa'eed, Muhammad, *Dawlat al-Ismâ'eeliyah fee Iran*, p. 95

[1051] aṣ-Ṣallâbi, *Dawlat aṣ-Ṣalâjiqah*, p. 129

[1052] aṣ-Ṣallâbi, *Dawlat aṣ-Ṣalâjiqah*, p. 97

[1053] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 97

[1054] adh-Dhahabi, *Siyâr A'lâm an-Nubalâ'*, vol. 21, p. 183

[1055] op. cit., vol. 21, p. 183

[1056] op. cit., vol. 21, p. 185

[1057] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 97

[1058] Taqqosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 97

[1059] op. cit., p. 98

[1060] ibid.

[1061] Narrated with weak chains from Anas, Buraydah and Jâbir according to *Al-Jâmi' aṣ-Ṣagheer*

[1062] i.e., enemies from within Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's own ranks (Editor)

[1063] Soorat an-Nahl begins with the words ﴾The Event ordained by Allah will come to pass.﴿ *(Qur'an 16: 1)*. Soorat Ṣâd ends with the words ﴾And you shall certainly know the truth of it after a while.﴿ *(Qur'an 38: 88)*

[1064] al-Isfahâni, p. 98; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 98

[1065] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in: Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 98

[1066] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 423

[1067] al-Hâshimi, 'Abd al-Mun'im, *Mawsoo'ah Târeekh al-'Arab: al-'Aṣr al-Ayyoobi*, p. 63

[1068] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 88

[1069] al-Hâshimi, *Mawsoo'ah Târeekh al-'Arab: al-'Aṣr al-Ayyoobi*, p. 58

[1070] al-Hamawi, Shihâb ad-Deen, *Mu'jam al-Buldân*, vol. 3, p. 51

[1071] op. cit., vol. 4, p. 497

[1072] Ibn al-Atheer, *Al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, vol. 9, p. 148

[1073] Malatya is a well-known city on the border of Syria.

[1074] al-Hamawi, *Mu'jam al-Buldân*, vol. 5, p. 192; al-Hâshimi, *Mawsoo'ah Târeekh al-'Arab*, p. 59

[1075] al-Hamawi, *Mu'jam al-Buldân*, vol. 2, p. 40; al-Hâshimi, *Mawsoo'ah Târeekh al-'Arab*, p. 60

[1076] al-Hâshimi, *Mawsoo'ah Târeekh al-'Arab*, p. 60

[1077] Ibn Shaddâd, *An-Nawâdir as-Sulṭâniyah*, p. 98; Ibn al-Atheer, *al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, vol. 9, pp. 447, 449

[1078] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 92

[1079] al-Hâshimi, *Mawsoo'ah Târeekh al-'Arab*, p. 54

[1080] ibid.

[1081] al-Qalqashandi, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shâ*, vol. 13, pp. 85-90

[1082] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in: al-Hâshimi, *Mawsoo'ah Târeekh al-'Arab*, p. 55

[1083] Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntadham fee Târeekh al-Umam*, vol. 10, p. 233

[1084] adh-Dhahabi, *Siyâr A'lâm an-Nubalâ'*, vol. 21, p. 70

[1085] adh-Dhahabi, *Siyâr A'lâm an-Nubalâ'*, vol. 21, p. 70

[1086] Ibn Katheer, *Al-Bidâyah wan-Nihâyah*, vol. 16, p. 541

[1087] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 85

[1088] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 3, pp. 60-61, 65; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 85

[1089] *Ma'âthir al-Inâfah fee Ma'âlim al-Khilâfah*, vol. 3, pp. 87-88

[1090] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 85

[1091] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 3, pp. 85-86; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 85

[1092] *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, p. 51; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 85

[1093] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 86

[1094] ibid.

[1095] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in:Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 86

[1096] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in: al-Hâshimi, *Mawsoo'ah*

Târeekh al-'Arab, p. 57
[1097] *Mukhtaṣar at-Târeekh min Awwal az-Zamân ilâ Târeekh Banil-'Abbâs*, p. 57
[1098] al-Hâshimi, *Mawsoo'ah Târeekh al-'Arab*, p. 57
[1099] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, pp. 104-105
[1100] *Târeekh al-A'mâl al-Munjazah*, William of Tyre, vol. 2, p. 1035
[1101] al-Hâshimi, *Mawsoo'ah Târeekh al-'Arab: al-'Aṣr al-Ayyobi*, p. 65
[1102] ibid.
[1103] al-Hâshimi, *Mawsoo'ah Târeekh al-'Arab: al-'Aṣr al-Ayyoobi*, p. 66
[1104] Jibrân & al-'Imâdi, *Dirâsât fee Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen wal-Mamâleek*, p. 91
[1105] op. cit., p. 92
[1106] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 119
[1107] Ibn al-Atheer, *Al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, vol. 9, p. 422; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 119
[1108] William of Tyre, *Târeekh al-A'mâl al-Munjazah*, vol. 2, p. 886; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 119
[1109] 'Ashoor, *al-Ḥarakah aṣ-Ṣaleebiyah*, vol. 2, p. 754; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 119
[1110] Ibn Shaddâd, *An-Nawâdir as-Sulṭâniyah*, p. 96; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 122
[1111] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 122
[1112] Ibn al-Atheer, *Al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, vol. 9, pp. 429-430
[1113] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn fee Akhbâr ad-Dawlatayn*, vol. 2, p. 471
[1114] al-Hâshimi, *Mawsoo'ah Târeekh al-'Arab*, p. 74
[1115] Ibn al-Atheer, *Al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, vol. 9, p. 431
[1116] William of Tyre, *Târeekh al-A'mâl*, vol. 2, p. 1005; al-Hâshimi, *Mawsoo'ah Târeekh al-'Arab*, p. 76
[1117] Ḥusayn, *Al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi fee 'Ahd Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen*, p. 411
[1118] Ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir'ât az-Zamân*, quoted in: Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 411
[1119] al-Hamâwi, *Mu'jam al-Buldân*, vol. 1, p. 479
[1120] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, quoted in *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 411
[1121] Yaqoot describes it as a great city in Palestine and it was its capital in the past.
[1122] Kastallan, *Târeekh al-Juyoosh*, p. 59; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 412
[1123] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 61; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 412
[1124] *Sanâ al-Barq ash-Shâmi*, vol. 1, p. 256; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 412
[1125] *Sanâ al-Barq ash-Shâmi*, vol. 1, p. 256; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 412

[1126] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 1, p. 703; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 413
[1127] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, pp. 60, 61; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 413
[1128] Ibn Shaddâd, *An-Nawâdir*, p. 53; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 413
[1129] Ibn al-Atheer, *Al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, vol. 11, p. 443; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 414
[1130] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 60; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 414
[1131] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 62; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 414
[1132] *Sanâ al-Barq ash-Shâmi*, vol. 1, p. 260; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 414
[1133] Runciman, vol. 2, p. 673; Ḥusayn, *al-Jaysh al-Ayyoobi*, p. 414
[1134] al-Hayâra, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Qâ'id wa 'Aṣruhu*, p. 212
[1135] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 213; al-Hayâra, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Qâ'id wa 'Aṣruhu*, p. 213
[1136] al-Hayâra, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Qâ'id wa 'Aṣruhu*, p. 213
[1137] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 72
[1138] al-Atheer, *al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh,* vol. 9, p. 439, 441; Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 127
[1139] Shaqeef Arnoon: a strongly fortified citadel in a cave in the mountains near Baniyas
[1140] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 128
[1141] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 128
[1142] Ibn al-Atheer, *Al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, vol. 9, p. 439; al-Hâshimi, *Mawsoo'ah Târeekh al-'Arab*, p. 128
[1143] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 128
[1144] Taqqoosh, *Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen*, p. 129; William of Tyre, *Târeekh al-A'mâl*, vol. 2, pp. 1014-1015
[1145] al-Hamâwi, *Mu'jam al-Buldân*, vol. 1, p. 270; al-Hâshimi, *Mawsoo'ah Târeekh al-'Arab*, p. 82
[1146] Ibn al-Atheer, *Al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, vol. 9, p. 151; al-Hâshimi, *Mawsoo'ah Târeekh al-'Arab*, p. 82
[1147] *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen fee Bilâd Miṣr wash-Shâm wal-Jazeerah*, p. 282
[1148] 'Ashoor, *Al-Ḥarakah aṣ-Ṣaleebiyah*, vol. 2, p. 753
[1149] Jibrân & al-'Imâdi, *Dirâsât fee Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen wal-Mamâleek*, p. 95
[1150] 'Ashoor, *Al-Ḥarakah aṣ-Ṣaleebiyah*, vol. 2, p. 617; an-Nâṣir, *al-Jihad wal-Tajdeed*, p. 231

[1151] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, p. 75
[1152] an-Nâṣir, *Al-Jihad wat-Tajdeed*, p. 231
[1153] Ibn al-Atheer, *Al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh, Ḥawâdith Sanah 577 AH*; an-Nâṣir, *Al-Jihad wat-Tajdeed*, p. 231
[1154] Ibn al-Atheer, *Al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, vol. 9, p. 153; an-Nâṣir, *Al-Jihad wat-Tajdeed*, p. 231
[1155] 'Ashoor, *Al-Ḥarakah aṣ-Ṣaleebiyah*, vol. 2, p. 606; an-Nâṣir, *Al-Jihad wat-Tajdeed*, p. 231
[1156] Jibrân & al-'Imâdi, *Dirâsât fee Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen wal-Mamâleek*, p. 96
[1157] op. cit., p. 97
[1158] ibid.
[1159] Jibrân & al-'Imâdi, *Dirâsât fee Târeekh al-Ayyoobiyeen wal-Mamâleek*, p. 97
[1160] *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Fâris al-Mujâhid wal-Malik az-Zâhid*, p. 231
[1161] al-Ma'âdeedi & Noori, *Târeekh al-Waṭan al-'Arabi wal-Ghazw aṣ-Ṣaleebi*, p. 160
[1162] op. cit., p. 161
[1163] al-Ma'âdeed & Noori, *Târeekh al-Waṭan al-'Arabi wal-Ghazw aṣ-Ṣaleebi*, p. 161
[1164] ibid.
[1165] ibid.
[1166] *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Fâris al-Mujâhid wal-Malik az-Zâhid*, p. 232
[1167] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn fee Akhbâr ad-Dawlatayn*, vol. 1, p. 41
[1168] op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 26-28
[1169] Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, p. 193; Abu Fâris, *Duroos wa Ta'ammulât fil-Ḥuroob aṣ-Ṣaleebiyah*, p. 132
[1170] Abu Fâris, *Ta'ammulât fil-Ḥuroob aṣ-Ṣaleebiyah*, p. 136
[1171] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 2, pp. 32, 33; Ibn Wâṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kuroob*, vol. 2, pp. 163, 164
[1172] Abu Fâris, *Duroos wa Ta'ammulât fil-Ḥuroob aṣ-Ṣaleebiyah*, p. 137
[1173] Ibn al-Atheer, *Al-Kâmil fit-Târeekh*, quoted in Abu Fâris, *Duroos wa Ta'ammulât*, p. 138
[1174] op. cit., p. 139
[1175] Al-Hayâra, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Qâ'id wa 'Aṣruhu*, p. 203
[1176] Ibn Katheer, *Al-Bidâyah wan-Nihâyah*, vol. 16, p. 576
[1177] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 3, p. 6
[1178] ibid.
[1179] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 3, p. 6

[1180] op. cit., vol. 3, p. 7
[1181] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 3, p. 8
[1182] op. cit., vol. 3, p. 9
[1183] ibid.
[1184] *Sanâ al-Barq ash-Shâmi*, vol. 3, p. 106; Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 3, p. 11
[1185] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 3, p. 11
[1186] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 3, p. 24; reference is made to the verse in which Allah says, ﴾But if a bounty comes to you from Allah, he would surely say — as if there had never been ties of affection between you and him — Oh! I wish I had been with them; so I could have attained a great attainment.﴿ *(Qur'an 4: 73)*
[1187] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 3, pp. 25-26
[1188] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 3, p. 66
[1189] This is the sea that extends from Arabia to Jeddah to Yemen [i.e., the Red Sea — translator].
[1190] *istikhârah*: a prayer by which one seeks guidance from Allah
[1191] *Sanâ al-Barq ash-Shâmi*, vol. 1, pp. 353, 254
[1192] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 3, p. 68
[1193] ibid.
[1194] ibid
[1195] op. cit., vol. 3, p. 69
[1196] Ibn Katheer, *Al-Bidâyah wan-Nihâyah*, vol. 16, p. 570
[1197] *aṣ-ṣirâṭ*: the path leading to paradise that passes over hellfire, and is found by disbelievers and sinners to be extremely sharp and narrow
[1198] Ibn Katheer, *Al-Bidâyah wan-Nihâyah*, vol. 16, p. 571
[1199] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 3, p. 238
[1200] op. cit., vol. 2, p. 239
[1201] op. cit., vol. 3, p. 240
[1202] ibid.
[1203] Ibn Katheer, *Al-Bidâyah wan-Nihâyah*, vol. 16, p. 518
[1204] op. cit., vol. 16, p. 573
[1205] ibid.
[1206] adh-Dhahabi, *Siyâr A'lâm an-Nubalâ'*, vol. 21, p. 53
[1207] ibid.
[1208] Ibn Katheer, *al-Bidâyah wan-Nihâyah*, vol. 16, p. 546
[1209] ibid.
[1210] op. cit., vol. 16, p. 559

[1211] *Seedi* is a colloquial Arabic expression that is a variant of *sayyidi*, meaning 'my lord', in the sense of 'sir' or 'master'
[1212] adh-Dhahabi, *Siyâr A'lâm an-Nubalâ'* vol. 21, p. 79
[1213] op. cit., vol. 21, p. 80
[1214] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 3, p. 34
[1215] op. cit., vol. 2, p. 433
[1216] Ibn Katheer, *Al-Bidâyah wan-Nihâyah*, vol. 16, p. 531
[1217] It is the Blue River, one of the tributaries of the Euphrates, on the edge of Anatolia, towards Aleppo.
[1218] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 3, p. 55
[1219] Al-Maqdisi, Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn, vol. 3, p. 55
[1220] *Sanâ al-Barq ash-Shâmi*, vol. 1, pp. 347 to 348
[1221] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, vol. 3, p. 264
[1222] ibid.
[1223] *fitnah*: *lit.* trial, temptation; (attempting to sow) discord between Muslims
[1224] Ibn Katheer, *Al-Bidâyah wan-Nihâyah*, vol. 16, p. 525
[1225] op. cit., vol. 16, p. 525
[1226] op. cit., vol. 16, p. 551
[1227] al-Hayâra, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Qâ'id wa 'Aṣruhu*, p. 263
[1228] op. cit., vol. 2, p. 64
[1229] al-Hayâra, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Qâ'id wa 'Aṣruhu*, p. 264
[1230] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in: al-Hayâra, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Qâ'id wa 'Aṣruhu*, p. 264
[1231] op. cit., p. 265
[1232] ibid.
[1233] Al-Maqdisi, *Kitâb ar-Rawḍatayn*, quoted in al-Hayâra, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Qâ'id wa 'Aṣruhu*, p. 265
[1234] op. cit., p. 266
[1235] al-Hayâra, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Qâ'id wa 'Aṣruhu*, p. 267
[1236] al-Hayâra, *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Qâ'id wa 'Ạsruhu*, p. 268

The Bibliography

The Bibliography can be found at the end of Volume III of *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi*

Appendix A
Timeline of Major Events

296 AH:	‘Ubayd-Allah al-Mahdi sets up Shiite Fatimid Caliphate in North Africa
324 AH:	The death of Abul Ḥasan al-Ash‘ari — the scholar whose Sunni beliefs were followed by the Ayubid state
358 AH:	Fatimids enter Egypt
443 AH:	Demise of Fatimid State in North Africa
463 AH:	The Battle of Manzikert — Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan deals a blow to the Byzantine forces
479 AH:	The Battle of Sagrajas — Almoravids victory against Spanish Christians in Andalusia
488 AH:	Pope Urban II’s speech that roused support for the first crusade
	Beginning of the first crusade
490 AH:	Franks seize Antioch
492 AH:	Jerusalem occupied by Crusaders
494 AH:	The Battle of Merzifon — Seljuk Turks victory over the Crusaders
	The first Battle of Heraclea — William, Count of Nevers, was dealt a total loss by the Seljuk Turks

	The second Battle of Heraclea — French and German armies led by William IX Duke of Aquitaine and Welf IV Duke of Bavaria are defeated by the Seljuks.
497 AH:	The Battle of Balikh — The Principality of Antioch and the County of Edessa under Crusader rule fought against the Seljuk Turks. The outcome was victory for the Muslims.
500 AH:	The death of Kilij Arslan, the ruler of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum
513 AH:	The Battle of Ager Sanguinis (The Field of Blood) — Muslim victory over the Crusaders. The sheer amount of deaths on the side of the Crusaders inspired the name, 'Field of Blood.'
532 AH:	The birth of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi
539 AH:	The Conquest of Edessa by 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi — Jacobite Bishop Basil handed the city over to Zangi after 30 days of siege.
542 AH:	Beginning of the second crusade
	The Seljuks destroy the German army — Sultan Mas'ood, Emir of the Seljuks of Rum, handed defeat to the Germans under Konrad III.
543 AH:	Muslim victory of Damascus against Frankish forces of King Louis VII
559 AH:	Noor ad-Deen Zangi's first campaign against Egypt — to secure Egypt from Fatimid control (Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen, at age 17, joined this venture)

562 AH:	Noor ad-Deen Zangi's second campaign against Egypt — Shawar, vizier of Cairo, sought help from Amalric I, King of Jerusalem agains Noor ad-Deen, but help did not come and Noor ad-Deen took control of western part of the country.
	The Battle of Bâbayn — The Franks and the Egyptians were defeated by the cunning military expertise of Noor ad-Deen's commander, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's uncle, Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh.
	The siege of Alexandria — Asad ad-Deen gained control without fighting.
	Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen appointed deputy in Alexandria
564 AH:	Noor ad-Deen Zangi's third campaign against Egypt resulting in control of Egypt by Noor ad-Deen
	Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen becomes vizier in Cairo
565 AH:	The siege of Damietta — Franks besiege the city and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen defends it ending in the defeat of the Franks.
567 AH:	The death of the Fatimid ruler of Egypt, al-'Âdid
	Abolishment of the Shiite Fatimid Caliphate
	Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen becomes ruler of Egypt
	Revival of Abbasid caliphate by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen
568 AH:	The death of Najm ad-Deen Ayub, Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's father
569 AH:	The death of Noor ad-Deen Zangi
	Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen conquers Yemen

570 AH:	The Ayubid state begins
	First Shiite attempt to assassinate Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen
570-572 AH:	Crusader raids against Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's posssessions
571 AH:	Peace deal between Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and the Crusaders
	Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's annexation of Damascus
	Second Shiite attempt to assassinate Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen
573 AH:	The Battle of ar-Ramlah — Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen was defeated by Reynald de Châtillon.
575 AH:	The death of the Abbasid caliph al-Mustadi bi Amr-Illâh
	The Battle of Tell al-Qaḍi — Victory by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen over Raymond III and Baldwin IV.
	Truce between Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen and Baldwin IV calling for 2 years of peace
576 AH:	The death of the scholar Ḥâfidh Abul-Ṭahir as-Salafi al-Asbahâni
	Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen enters Armenia
577 AH:	The death of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ, the son of Noor ad-Deen Zangi
578 AH:	Andronikos Komnenos becomes emperor of Byzantine state
579 AH:	Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's annexation of Aleppo
581 AH:	Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's annexation of Mosul

	Isaac Angelos becomes emperor of Byzantine state upon Komnenos' deposition and death
582 AH:	Astrologers foretold that the world would end this year.
	The death of Baldwin V, which led to internal conflict between princes for the throne of Jerusalem
	Reynald de Châtillon breaks truce with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen
583 AH:	The Battle of Hattin — Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen's decisive victory over the Crusaders in which the King of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan was captured as well as Reynald de Châtillon, who was beheaded for his treachery
	The Battle of Sephoria — Huge losses for the Crusaders dealt by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen
	The Liberation of Jerusalem by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen
	The siege of Tyre — Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen besieged the city but the King, Conrad de Montferrat, had fortifications and would not surrender, resulting in Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen lifting the siege.
585 AH:	The death of 'Abdullâh ibn Abi 'Aṣroon, scholar and judge under Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen
	Beginning of the third crusade as a result of the loss at Hattin and the loss of Jerusalem
	Germans enter Armenia
586 AH:	Death of German Emperor, Fredrick Barbarossa, resulting in the fleeing of the Germans

	Crusaders besiege Acre
587 AH:	The fall of Acre to the kings of England and France, Richard the Lionhearted and Philip Augustus
	The Battle of Arsuf — Between Richard the Lionhearted and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen resulting in victory for Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen
	The Destruction of Ascalon by Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen so that the Crusaders could not take it
588 AH:	The Battle of Jaffa — Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen attacked Jaffa, the headquarters of the Crusaders, when Richard the Lionheart was absent. The Muslims took the city and the Crusaders had to seek a peace deal.
	The Treaty of ar-Ramlah — Between Richard the Lionheart and Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen; Richard leaves the Middle East for England.
589 AH:	The death of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi
596 AH:	The death of Q@adi al-Fâḍil (Abu 'Ali 'Abd ar-Raḥeem al-'Asqallâni), trusted advisor to Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen

Appendix B
Dynasties mentioned in *Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi*

Muslims

Abbasid Caliphate — This dynasty traces its genealogy to al-Abbâs, the son of Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Al-Abbâs was the brother of 'Abdullâh, father of the Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ). It ruled much of the Arabian Peninsula and had its territory expanded under Ṣalâh ad-Deen al-Ayubi's leadership. Ṣalâh ad-Deen pledged allegiance to the caliph al-Mustadi and upon his death, his son, the caliph Abul-'Abbâs Aḥmad ibn al-Mustadi, also known as an-Nâṣir li Deen-Illâh.

Shiite Fatimid Caliphate — This dynasty began with 'Ubayd-Allah al-Mahdi. He claims descent from 'Ali and Fâṭimah, the cousin and daughter respectively of the Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ). The last ruler of this dynasty was al-'Âdid, who was succeeded by Ṣalâh ad-Deen as the ruler of Egypt.

The Great Seljuk Empire — This Empire of Seljuk Turks was divided into the Sultanate of Rum (Anatolia), the Sultanate of Syria, and the Sultanates of Kerman (Southern Persia) and Hamadan (Western Persia). Sulayman ibn Kutalmish established the Sultanate of Rum. He was a distant cousin of Malikshah, the son of Alp Arslan, the first of the sultans of the entire Seljuk state. Sulayman's son, Kilij Arslan I, became the Sultan of Rum upon his father's death. Kilij Arslan fought the French and Germans in the first crusade. His

brother, Malikshah succeeded him. Malikshah was succeeded by Rukn ad-Deen Mas'ood, Kilij Arslan's son, who defeated the Germans in the second crusade. 'Izz ad-Deen Kilij Arslan II became sultan after his father Mas'ood. Kilij Arslan II fought the Byzantine army led by Manuel Komnenos during the second crusade and achieved a decisive victory. He also had conflicts with Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen over territory.

Zangid Dynasty — This dynasty branched from the Seljuk Turk dynasty. It reached its extent under Noor ad-Deen Zangi. His father was 'Imâd ad-Deen Zangi, the regent of Aleppo and Mosul, and one of the great military leaders of the Seljuk Turks. Noor ad-Deen's brother was Saif ad-Deen Ghazi. Upon Noor ad-Deen's death, his son, al-Malik aṣ-Ṣâliḥ took the reigns until his death when Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen united Muslim lands under his own leadership.

Ayubid Dynasty — This dynasty began with Ṣalâh ad-Deen Yusuf ibn Ayub in 570 AH. It paid allegiance to the Abbasid caliphate. Ṣalâh ad-Deen was the son of Najm ad-Deen Ayub. Najm ad-Deen and his brother, Asad ad-Deen Shirkuh, both served under Noor ad-Deen Zangi. The Ayubid family was of Kurdish origin.

Crusaders

Kingdom of England — William the Conqueror's son, Henry I had a daughter named Matilda the Empress. She married Geoffrey I Plantagenet and their son, Henry II, was the father of the famed Richard the Lionhearted. Richard fought Ṣalâh ad-Deen al-Ayubi in the third crusade. The end result of their contest was a draw, with Richard leaving the Middle East.

Kingdom of France — King Louis VI's son, Louis VII took part in the second crusade. His son, Philip Augustus, joined forces with

Richard the Lionhearted during the third crusade against Ṣalâh ad-Deen.

Roman Empire of the German Nation (known as the Holy Roman Empire) — Henry III, the King of Germany and the Emperor of the 'Holy' Roman Empire had Henry IV, who was the father of Agnes of Germany. She married Frederick I, Duke of Swabia, and their son Konrad III fought in the second crusade against the Seljuk Turks. His brother was Frederick II, whose son, Frederick Barbarossa, took part in the third crusade against Ṣalâh ad-Deen. He drowned in a river while campaigning and his army fled as a result.

Byzantine Empire — The line of Byzantine emperors who ruled during, and took part in, the first three crusades is: Alexios I Komnenos, John II Komnenos (the son of Alexios I), Manuel I Komnenos (son of John II), Alexios II Komnenos (son of Manuel I), Andronikos Komnenos (Manuel's cousin and son of Prince Isaac Komnenos), Isaac I Angelos (great grandson of Alexios I).

Kingdom of Jerusalem — King Fulk's son Baldwin III became king after his father and was succeeded by his brother, Amalric I. Amalric sided with the Fatimids against Noor ad-Deen Zangi. Amalric's son Baldwin IV, who was a leper, fought Ṣalâh ad-Deen in the second crusade. Upon Baldwin IV's death, his nephew Baldwin V became king. He was known as the child-king because he was only 6 years old. He died only a year later and upon his death, Baldwin IV's sister, Sibylla, who was Baldwin the V's mother, insisted that her husband, Guy de Lusignan take over as king. Guy was captured by Ṣalâh ad-Deen at the Battle of Hattin.

Appendix C
Map

Map of the Empire of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi (see next page)

Map of the Empire of Ṣalâḥ ad-Deen al-Ayubi



EMPIRE OF ṢALÂḤ AD-DEEN AL-AYUBI
Late 12th century CE (6th century AH)

Glossary of Islamic terms*

abu (or abi)	أبو، أبي	father (of)
adhân	أذان	the call to prayer
ahl as-Sunnah wal-jamâ'ah	أهل السنّة والجماعة	'people of the Sunnah and the community'
alḥamdulillâh	الحمد للّه	all praise is for Allah
Allâhu akbar	اللّه أكبر	Allah is the Greatest
âmeen	آمين	O Allah, accept our invocation; amen
Andalusia	الأندلس	the region of the Iberian Peninsula that was part of the Islamic state
Anṣâr	أنصار	'helpers': the Muslim citizens of Madinah who gave refuge to the Prophet (ﷺ) and the other Muslim emigrants from Makkah
'aqeedah (pl. 'aqâ'id)	عقيدة	belief system that is based upon a firm conviction in all the fundamentals of faith and of the oneness of Allah; firm creed that one's heart is fixed upon without any wavering or doubt, and that excludes any supposition, doubt or suspicion

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* The Arabic words are transliterated according to the conventions of the Transliteration Chart found in this book. If a word has become part of the English language (i.e. is found in a dictionary of Standard English), that spelling is used in this book and appears first in this Glossary, with the transliterated form in brackets after it.

'aṣr	عصر	mid-afternoon; the obligatory prayer at that time
as-salâmu 'alaykum	السلام	a greeting, which means 'peace'
âthâr	آثار	*lit.* remains, traces: all narrations, regardless of whether they are related from the Prophet (ﷺ), from the Companions, or from the tâbi'oon
bait al-maqdis	بيت المقدس	the Islamic term for Jerusalem
bid'ah	بدعة	innovation, *esp.* undesired innovation in matters of religion
bismillâh	بسم اللّه	in the name of Allah
Dajjâl	الدجّال	Antichrist (anti-Christ)
da'wah	دعوة	disseminating the teachings of Islam and calling people to accept and embrace Islam
dhikr Allâh	ذكر اللّه	remembrance of Allah; specifically, remembering Allah through praising and supplicating to Him
dhimmi	ذمّي	protected or covenanted people; non-Muslims who must pay the jizyah in lieu of zakât
dhuhr	ظهر	afternoon; the obligatory prayer at that time
dinar (deenâr)	دينار	originally, a gold coin; a unit of currency
dirham	درهم	a silver coin; a unit of currency
diwân al-bareed	دوان البريد	the government department in charge of postal and messenger services

diwân al-inshâ'	دوان الإنشاء	the chancery
diwân al-jaysh	دوان الجيش	the government department in charge of the army
du'â'	دعاء	supplication; invocation
eemân	إيمان	faith; belief in all the six pillars of the creed of Islam
Eid ('eed)	عيد	*lit.* festival; the two celebrations: one at the end of Ramadan and the other at the culmination of the Hajj
fajr	الفجر	dawn; the obligatory prayer at that time
faqeeh	فقيه	scholar of jurisprudence
fatwa (fatwah)	فتوة	religious decision or decree
fiqh	فقه	Islamic jurisprudence; understanding or interpreting Islamic law
fitnah	فتنة	*lit.* trial, temptation; (attempting to sow) discord between Muslims
fiṭrah	فطرة	the natural inclination (of humans) instilled by Allah
ghayb	الغيب	*lit.* 'unseen'; a term used to denote phenomena or aspects that cannot be known using ordinary human faculties
Hadith (ḥadeeth)	حديث	the collected statements and actions of Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ) that with the Qur'an form the basis of Islamic law
hadith (ḥadeeth)	حديث	a statement or action of Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ) that was remembered and recorded by his Companions and followers

hadith qudsi	حديث قدسي	'sacred hadith': a hadith communicated to Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ) by Allah, but that is not part of the Qur'an
Al-Ḥâfidh	الحافظ	'the one who has memorized (the Qur'an)': an honorific title
Hajj (ḥajj)	حج	the major pilgrimage to the Sacred Mosque, site of the Ka'bah at Makkah, to be undertaken by every able Muslim once in his/her lifetime
halal (ḥalâl)	حلال	permitted according to Islamic law
ḥarâm	حرام	forbidden according to Islamic law
Ḥijâz	حجاز	the Western region of the Arabian Peninsula that includes Makkah and Madinah
Hijrah	هجرة	migration: *esp.* the migration from Makkah to Madinah by Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ) and his Companions that marks the start of the Islamic calendar
Ifriqiyah (Ifreeqiyah)		North Africa, including the Maghreb
ijâzah	إجازة	*lit.* 'permission'; certificate issued to a scholar that qualifies him/her to teach what s/he has learned from his/her teachers or 'shaykhs'
ijmâ'	إجماع	consensus: a method of deriving rulings in jurisprudence
ijtihâd	إجتهاد	to use one's knowledge of the Qur'an and the Sunnah to derive rulings on matters not specifically mentioned in either source of Islamic law

in shâ'Allah	أن شاءاللّٰه	God willing
iqâmah	إقامة	the call to rise for prayer, given when the prayer is about to begin
'ishâ'	عشاء	evening; the obligatory prayer at that time
isrâ' and mi'râj	الإسراء والمعراج	the night journey of the Prophet (ﷺ) from Makkah to Jerusalem and then up to visit heaven
i'tikâf	إعتكاف	seclusion in the mosque solely for the purpose of worship
jâhiliyah	جاهلية	*lit.* 'ignorance'; the age of spiritual darkness before Islam
jihad (jihâd)	جهاد	struggle or striving (in Allah's cause)
jinn	جن	non-human, rational beings created by Allah, often referred to as 'demons'
jizyah	جزية	a tax levied on the people of the Scriptures when they are under the protection of a Muslim government; it is in lieu of the alms tax paid by Muslims
jumu'ah	جمعة	Friday; *also*, the midday congregational prayer of that day
juz' (pl.ajzâ')	جزء	a section of the Qur'an equal to one thirtieth of the text
Kaaba (Ka'bah)	الكعبة	the House of Allah in Makkah, originally built by Prophets Ibrâheem and Ismâ'eel
Khaleefah (pl. Khulafâ')	خليفة	Caliph; head of the Islamic state

Al-Khulafâ' ar-Râshidoon	الخلفاء الراشدون	the four 'Rightly-guided Caliphs' who governed after the death of the Prophet (ﷺ)
khuṭbah		sermon or speech; specifically, the sermon given during the Friday congregational prayer
kufr	الكفر	disbelief in Allah and/or what He has revealed
lâ ilâha illa Allâh	لا إله إلى اللّٰه	there is none worthy of worship other than Allah
madh-hab	مذهب	school of juristic thought
Maghreb	المغرب	the region that includes Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria
maghrib	مغرب	sunset; the obligatory prayer at that time
al-Masjid al-Aqṣâ	المسجد الأقصى	the 'Farthest Mosque', mentioned in the Qur'an (17: 1)
al-Masjid al-Ḥarâm	المسجد الحرام	the Sacred Mosque in Makkah where the Kaaba is situated
minbar	منبر	raised pulpit in a mosque from which sermons are presented; The pulpit in a mosque is different from that in a church. The pulpit in a mosque is basically a raised platform at the top of a set of steps, and it usually has a railing for the imam or speaker to lean on. This is why one can speak of 'sitting on the pulpit', and 'ascending the pulpit'.

muezzin *(mu'adh-dhin)*	مؤذّن	caller to prayer; one who makes the adhân
mufassir *(pl: mufassiroon)*	مفسر	one who engages in tafseer, i.e., one who interprets the Qur'an
mufti	مفتي	a learned person qualified to issue a derived ruling from revealed sources
muḥaddith	محدث	one who memorizes and relates hadiths; one who studies hadiths
Muhâjiroon *(or Muhâjireen)*	مهاجرون	*lit.* emigrants (of any kind); in Islamic discourse this term is used to refer to people who emigrate to safeguard their religion, and specifically, the Muslims who migrated with Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ) from Makkah to Madinah
mujaddid	مجدّد	renewer
mujâhid *(pl. mujâhideen)*	مجاهد	one who strives in the way of Allah; a fighter in jihad
mujtahid *(pl. mujtahideen)*	مجتهد	a person qualified to exercise ijtihâd
mujtahidoon	مجتهدين	Scholars who use their knowledge of the Qur'an and the Sunnah to derive rulings on matters not specifically mentioned in either source of Islamic law; i.e., they practice ijtihâd
muṣ-ḥaf	مصحف	copy of the Arabic text of the Qur'an that is neither accompanied by commentary nor translated
mutawâtir	متواتر	a category of hadith describing narrations that are related by a group of

		upright and trustworthy narrators who also related from a group of upright and trustworthy narrators, and so on, until the narration ends at the Prophet (ﷺ)
qibla (qiblah)	القبلة	the bearing from the Kaaba to any point on Earth; the direction that all Muslims must face in prayer
qiyâs	قياس	analogy: a method of deriving rulings in jurisprudence
raka'ah (pl. raka'ât)	ركعة	a unit of the formal prayer (ṣalât)
Ramadan (Ramaḍân)	رمضان	the ninth month in the Islamic calendar; the month of obligatory fasting
salaf	السلف	the pious predecessors: the earliest generations of the righteous followers of Islam
ṣalât or ṣalâh	صلاة	formal prayer: a combination of physical postures, recitation and supplication
seerah	سيرة	biography
sharia (shari'ah)	شرعة	Islamic law derived from the Qur'an and the Sunnah
shaykh	شيخ	teacher, mentor; scholar
shirk	الشرك	associating partners with Allah
soorah or soorat	سورة	chapter of the Qur'an
subḥân Allâh	سبحان اللّٰه	glory be to Allah
Sunnah	سنَة	the practice and collected sayings of Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ) that together with the Qur'an forms the basis of Islamic law

tâbi'oon (*sg. tâbi'ee*)	التابعون	those who knew or met any of the Companions and transmitted hadiths from them
tafseer	تفسير	exegesis: commentary, or explanation of the meanings (*usu.* of Qur'anic verses)
takbeer	تكبير	the act of saying *Allâhu akbar*
taqwâ	التقوى	fearful awareness of Allah; being mindful of Allah; pious dedication; being careful not to transgress the bounds set by Allah
ṭawâf	طواف	circumambulation of the Ka'bah
tawâtur	تواتر	see *mutawâtir*
ta' weel	تأويل	interpretation; altering the definition of some concept in order to suit one's own purpose
tawḥeed	التوحيد	the Oneness of Allah: that He alone deserves to be worshipped and that He has no partners
Ummah	أمّة	community or nation: *usu.* used to refer to the entire global community of Muslims
'umrah	عمرة	a minor, non-obligatory pilgrimage to Makkah
uṣool al-fiqh	أصول الفقه	principles of Islamic jurisprudence
walee	ولي	friend and helper (of Allah); sometimes used to describe a pious person to whom was ascribed saintly qualities after his death

Yathrib	يثرب	pre-Islamic name of the town that became known as Madinah, where the Islamic state was established after the Hijrah
zakât (*zakâh or zakât*)	زكاة	obligatory charity: an 'alms tax' on wealth payable by Muslims and to be distributed to other Muslims who qualify as recipients
zakât al-fiṭr	زكاة الفطر	obligatory charity at the end of the fast of Ramadan, payable in kind
Zamzam	زمزم	the blessed spring of water that Allah caused to gush out at baby Ismâ'eel's feet; located near the Ka'bah